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THY NEIGHBOUR

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THY NEIGHBOUR

BY
LORD MELCHETT

*With two Illustrations and
two Maps*

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TO
MY WIFE

Truth is the seal of God

TALMUD

PREFACE

SOME of my readers may be surprised by the observations which I make in this book in regard to Christianity; they may imagine that there are implied criticisms of that noble faith in some of the things I say. Such criticism is far from my purpose. I have the greatest respect and the highest regard for the Christian religion in all its forms. I differ from it on certain theological grounds, and indeed, Christians differ amongst themselves, though to a lesser degree, on some of these subjects. But for the great teachings of the religion, for the noble inspirations and sublime art which it has produced, I have nothing but profound respect and admiration. What I have to say about it, however, is in its relation to the Jewish question viewed from the Jewish point of view. It is one of the most unhappy aspects of Christianity as a whole, though, of course, the Church of England and the English Nonconformist faiths have a very different history in the matter.

My subject is not an easy one, but nothing that has to do with Jews is easy, and nothing is easy for Jews. My story is a tragic story—though I hold out what I believe to be the right, in fact, the

THY NEIGHBOUR

only solution to the problem. If the Jews are re-established in Palestine, and if not all the Jews, then as many as can possibly be accommodated in that country, there will be several results. In the first place, Jews the world over will stand in a different light to their fellow-men. They will no longer be the landless, peopleless people. They will be there for all the world to see as an Englishman, or a Russian, or an American, is there wherever he may dwell or wherever he may be naturalized. Secondly, the self-respect and basic personality of the Jewish people will be restored, and this is more important for the millions of Jews of Eastern Europe than for the few hundred thousand scattered in England and the Western European countries. Thirdly, the world will have a new country. The oldest country—from which great events have come in the past—will flourish again under a new impulse and yet one of the oldest impulses in the world. A new culture will grow up, a new vision, from the oldest and the youngest people in the world. Fourthly, a great act of justice and mercy will be performed, which if carried out on a sufficiently large scale, will relieve the appalling pressure on the Jewish populations of Europe and provide a shelter and a new home for the persecuted Jews of Germany.

PREFACE

In my judgment the problem is worthy of the study of all those who have the welfare and the peace of mankind at heart. Zionism was admitted to be the solution of the Jewish problem by the nations of the world at the end of the Great War. Nothing that has happened since has shown that this solution was wrong; much has happened, tragically enough, in Germany and elsewhere to show that it was right. But to-day Europe is swept with a plague of anti-Semitism and, since this book was begun, the basis of our existence in Palestine itself has been challenged by the Arab politicians. It seems to me all the more reason why this is the time for the appearance of a book designed to compress into a reasonable space the narrative of the whole matter, the essentials of the problem, and the main points of the solution of that problem. I do not believe that the foundations of world peace can be established on the basis of the oppression of one of its oldest and most illustrious peoples.

I wish to acknowledge my grateful thanks to Mr. P. D. J. Druiff for his help in the preparation of this work, and to the Rev. M. L. Perlzweig for his many useful suggestions; also to the Chief Rabbi, Dr. J. H. Hertz, whose *Book of Jewish Thoughts* has been a most fruitful source of infor-

THY NEIGHBOUR

mation and a constant source of inspiration to the writer.

I further wish to acknowledge the assistance I have received from *The Yellow Spot*, published by Victor Gollancz Ltd., which has collated in such a convenient form the various reports on Nazi Germany, and from the *Report of Jewish Colonization in Palestine*, by Mr. D. Horowitz of the Economic Research Institute, which is a mine of information and statistics on all economic questions relating to Palestine.

MELCHETT

CONTENTS

PREFACE	7
INTRODUCTION	13
CHAPTER I	
THE JEW IN EUROPE TO-DAY	33
CHAPTER II	
FROM ABRAHAM TO DISRAELI	57
CHAPTER III	
ZIONISM	100
CHAPTER IV	
ZIONISM IN PRACTICE	130
CHAPTER V	
ZIONISM AND THE EMPIRE	181
POSTSCRIPT	
THE ARAB REVOLT OF 1936	223
APPENDIX	
LEAGUE OF NATIONS: MANDATE FOR PALESTINE, 1922	265
INDEX	279

ILLUSTRATIONS

PALESTINE AND GERMANY *Facing page 1*

*From Photographs by M. Vorobeichic
and Planet News, Ltd.*

A MAP OF PALESTINE *Front Endpaper*

Drawn by Alfred E. Taylor

PALESTINE AND TRANSJORDAN IN RELATION TO
ARAB TERRITORY *Back Endpaper*

Drawn by Alfred E. Taylor

INTRODUCTION

Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.
Leviticus XIX. 18.

THIS is the highest ethical injunction that has been laid upon mankind. It is the first step upon the road to the Love of God. It is the precept of the ancient Jewish law, and was given by the famous Rabbi Hillel as the pith and core of the whole. It is based on the injunction of Moses—"Love the stranger and the sojourner because you have been strangers in the land of Egypt," and as Tolstoy points out, "this was said in those remote days and savage times when the principal ambition of races and nations consisted in crushing and enslaving one another".

It has become the ethical principle of Christianity, but almost at all times to the exclusion of the Jews, whence it sprung. One hears devout Christians speak of the Jews, and more particularly of the Eastern Jews, as the 'scum of the earth', and this without thinking that they offend against the spirit of their own religion. The teaching to 'Love thy Neighbour' is not furthered by abuse, contempt or bloodshed. The Eastern Euro-

THY NEIGHBOUR

pean Jews have a wonderful record of devotion, loyalty to their faith, courage and determination against the longest period of vile and bloody persecution.

If the Jews or any part of them were in fact the 'scum of the earth', the duty of the Christian would be to try to save them. How? By trying to persuade them of the accuracy of Christian Theology and the Unity of the Trinity? Or by exemplifying the teaching of the Founder of Christianity: 'Love thy Neighbour'? Voltaire, protesting against the Lisbon Auto da Fé, in 1761, expressed this idea. "Cease therefore to punish a whole nation for an event for which it cannot be responsible. Would it be just to burn the Pope at Rome to-day because the first Romans ravished the Sabines? . . . O God, who hast created us all, accomplish Thou that there be no longer on this globe either fanatics or persecutors. Amen."

This general denunciation of a group of God's creatures is as false as it is shallow, yet it is the basis of the perpetual and cruel persecution of the People of Israel. The glory and the greatness of Israel is as true and as real to-day as it has ever been in the past, and the superficial judgments of the ignorant remain a greater shame to them than to us.

INTRODUCTION

"Thy People Israel." The phrase occurs so often in the Bible, that sublime record of the early History of the House of Israel. In the primitive Scriptural concept, the Jews were chosen by God, and were dedicated to His service.

Just as the modern doctrine has arisen that no Messiah as an individual will come to save Israel from its misery and torment, but that Israel is its own Messiah and that the People will be saved from within themselves, so the modern mystical doctrine of God is no longer that of the anthropomorphic Lord of the Old Testament, aloof from Mankind, and the Creator, Judge, and Executioner of Mankind; but rather that Mankind itself, evolved by Nature, is the manifestation of God. Mankind is daily, hourly, "creating" God from the original Divine impulse within Nature itself.

The words "Thy People" no longer mean the "People" of God, but the "People" of Mankind. As to how Mankind has treated its strange and separate "neighbours", as to their great and tragic history, as to what they are and how they came to be in their unique situation, I shall treat in this book.

Apart from the mysteries of their beginning, one great episode stands out in their history—it is

THY NEIGHBOUR

recorded in the New Testament. Even assuming this to be a strictly unbiased account of the facts (which is perhaps historically doubtful), if the blame for the Crucifixion can fairly be placed on the Jews, and on the Jews alone; if it be held that the Romans had no more responsibility than the accepted versions inform us, even then can the Christian world search its conscience and yet be satisfied with the treatment of its "Neighbours"?

Jesus of Nazareth was a Jew, he practised the Jewish religion, and preached it. He taught the Ethics of Judaism, which are the Ethics of Christianity, so different from the pagan world by which He was surrounded. The theological question no longer troubles humanity as much as it used to; the difficult questions, of the Unity of the Trinity, of Reincarnation, of the Immaculate Conception, are no longer of burning moment to the modern world. The essential dogmatic insistence of Jewry on a simple Monotheism, or the Oneness of God, no longer arouses the bitterness of earlier centuries. But mankind is just as much concerned with essential ethics, and with the principle "love thy neighbour as thyself".

Christianity has had a strange effect on the destiny of Judaism. Jesus was a Jew. Even if he were crucified by one group of Jews, he was

INTRODUCTION

accepted by another. His Apostles were Jews, his disciples were largely Jews, St. Paul was proud to call himself a Jew. The spread of Christianity carried two things with it of particular significance to Jews. Firstly, knowledge of Jewish history as comprised in the Old Testament. It is amazing that the records and literature of a comparatively small nation on the shores of the Eastern Mediterranean should have been read from one end of the earth to the other. Secondly, Christianity engendered hostility towards the Jews for the part they played in the Passion, but, above all, for refusing against all advantage to themselves and in spite of all pressure to abandon their belief in "One God" by accepting conversion.

There is something mystically inevitable about this. Had the Jews accepted Christianity, in the eyes of a Christian the fact of being a Jew should be the summit and glory of earthly ancestry—membership of the People designated as the vehicle of so mighty a revelation. I have been a Baptized Jew, and I have never found anyone who held this view. To the Jew it was desertion, to the Christian—camouflage. Such is the world in reality, so far removed from what we would have it. It is amazing that the deep tradition and faith of the Jew should have overcome such fearful physical

THY NEIGHBOUR

torments in a people supposed to be cowards, or have resisted such obvious mundane advantages in a people supposed to be venal. But the truth remains, and stands out as one of the most extraordinary facts of human history.

To return to my earlier question : Can the Christian world fairly search its conscience in regard to its treatment of the Jews? If the Jew had been treated with kindness and consideration, if he had seen Christian communities treating each other in a like manner, might he not have been persuaded? Is burning a man alive a good argument to persuade him that your notion of Divinity is superior to his? That you have more truly absorbed and adopted the teaching, "Love thy neighbour as thyself"? Is driving him, with his wife and children into a swamp to drown, another cogent argument on the same thesis? Is vituperation, calumny, or ostracism likely to improve the characteristics of a people whom you desire to convert and ennoble? And has it ever changed? From the beginning to the present day the Jews have been persecuted, and from the beginning to the present day most Christians have not cared.

We *are* different, we *are* a separate people all over the world. We have chosen to be separate, perhaps because no one has yet offered us an

INTRODUCTION

example that we should care to follow. It is idle to discuss whether we were always separate, or whether we have been so bent and twisted on the rack and wheel of physical, social, and spiritual persecution for so many centuries that we have become marked off from other men.

To-day, in the face of the new, the modern persecution which is not religious but racial, we rise and speak to the world in a new voice. We are returning to our own land, we are going back there to become ordinary men again. We have contributed, as no other people in the world, to the culture, the glory, and the advance of every civilized nation. Now we are going back to rebuild our own.

"Thy people Israel." What will mankind say to us, so long tormented, so long faithful to our traditions? It is not only a problem for us, it is a problem for you. You are many and strong, we are few and weak. What hand is held out to help the weak, the scattered, the oppressed? It is the hand of Britain. Merciful, chivalrous, she has pledged her word to help in establishing a National Home for the Jews in Palestine.

How shall we requite her? This book is written to show how, in my belief, the destinies of the two people are interwoven, and to explain to the people

THY NEIGHBOUR

of Britain the present plight, the past story, and future aspirations of the People of the Book, their "Neighbours".

It might be held that the story of the persecution of the Jews begins with Abraham, who left the great civilization of Ur of the Chaldees in the year 2000 B.C. and, moved by an individual vision, set out to find a land of his own. The history of his expedition is recorded in the Bible; after many trials and disappointments he eventually established himself in Palestine and left his son, Isaac, of whom it is written :

And Isaac sowed in that Land, and received in the same year an hundredfold: and the Lord blessed him. And the man waxed great and went forward, and grew until he became very great: for he had flocks and herds and great store of servants: and the Philistines envied him. For all the wells which his father's servants had digged in the days of Abraham his father, the Philistines had stopped them, and filled them with earth. And Abimelech said unto Isaac, Go from us; for thou art much mightier than we.

This is a process which has, in essence, repeated itself time and again, and perhaps these few sentences embody as clearly as may be the theme which I propose to develop.

It might have been expected that in the

INTRODUCTION

many centuries which have elapsed, either the original prophecies would have proved so hopelessly false that they would no longer interest intelligent men, or that some fundamental difference would be observable in this eternal story.

The striking fact is that neither of these things has happened. The story, in its essence, remains the same, and is still expressed by those few words in Genesis. But it is accompanied to-day, as it has been throughout many centuries, by the complicating factor that we are no longer a small family of Aramaeans, but a people running into several millions. We have made contributions to the advancement of humanity, which can compare with those of the mightiest empires which have risen and fallen throughout the recorded period of human history. Yet even to-day the position is not very different from that of Genesis. The essence of Hitler's anti-semitic malignancy is expressed in the words, "Go from us, for thou art mightier than we."

Viewed calmly and coldly, the proposition that a nation of sixty-five million people, purporting to be the finest specimens of humanity which the world has yet produced, who have led the conti-

ment of Europe in the Arts, the Sciences, in Philosophy and Human Thought, confess themselves to have been brought to the brink of destruction, to have been diverted from their true course, and to have been undermined in their fundamental philosophy by a small group of Jews, amounting to no more than 600,000, or one per cent of the population—the proposition is absurd. Judged by normal standards, this is the voice of frenzy.

Was the moral philosophy and capacity of the sixty-five million so inadequate and so feeble that they were unable to stand the intellectual onslaught of this tiny group? Was the intellectual capacity of this mighty nation so inferior that it was unable to sustain itself against the intelligence of this little minority? Yet it is this confession of complete failure which is the core and centre of official German Government policy to-day. The speeches that have been made, the laws that have been enacted, the brutalities that have been committed, have all been justified on these grounds. There is, as I have said, nothing new in it: it is all expressed in the phrase of 4000 years ago, "Go from us, for thou art much mightier than we."

It is that might which is so awful to contemplate, which brings such terrible retribution in its

INTRODUCTION

trail, it is that spirit of intellectual power that has never let Jewry die, which has caused the most poignant human suffering which the history of a tortured world has recorded. Those of my readers who are Jews, either by race or religion, will understand what I mean. It is to those who are not that I chiefly speak, and who I wish to follow me into that queer labyrinth of suffering which is the result of this strange destiny.

The tragedy of the Jews is that, while being a gifted people, of many outstanding qualities, yet too often have they been denied the most elementary human rights, let alone being given any encouragement to develop their talents. The noble words of Lord Macaulay in 1833, when he pleaded for their admission to membership of the House of Commons, make an appeal that is unanswerable :

In the infancy of civilization, when our island was as savage as New Guinea, when letters and arts were still unknown to Athens, when scarcely a thatched hut stood on what was afterwards the site of Rome, this contemned people had their fenced cities and cedar palaces, their splendid Temple, their fleets of merchant ships, their schools of sacred learning, their great statesmen and soldiers, their natural philosophers, their historians, and their poets. What nation ever con-

THY NEIGHBOUR

tended more manfully against overwhelming odds for its independence and religion? What nation ever, in its last agonies, gave such signal proofs of what may be accomplished by a brave despair? And if, in the course of many centuries, the oppressed descendants of warriors and sages have degenerated from the qualities of their fathers—shall we consider this as a matter of reproach to them? Shall we not rather consider it as a matter of shame and remorse to ourselves? Let us do justice to them. Let us open to them every career in which ability and energy can be displayed. Till we have done this, let us not presume to say that there is no genius among the countrymen of Isaiah, no heroism among the descendants of the Maccabees.

It has frequently been asserted that the solution to the Jewish problem is not the preservation of Jewry, but, on the contrary, its disappearance. It has often been pointed out that dissemination into the various cultured nations amongst whom the Jews have been dispersed provides an escape from the perilous position which they for so long have occupied; that close identification with the country of their birth and adoption, baptism, and distinguished service to their native land, would emancipate them from the hostility under which they have suffered so long.

It has been necessary for the world to wait until

INTRODUCTION

1933 to learn finally that this view is entirely wrong. Of all the Jewish communities of whom we have any record, with one possible exception, the German-Jewish community have rendered the greatest service to their country, were most assimilated to their native land, and farther apart from Jewish life, as such, than elsewhere. The exception is Spain, prior to the Inquisition, and this is hardly a comparable case, as the change that there came about was based upon religious, and not at all on racial, grounds. Perhaps I may be forgiven for quoting here an extract from one of General Smuts' speeches :

Germany has had great service rendered her by German Jews. I remember when they were regarded as the flower of Judaism, and among the most cultured people in the world. To-day we see the flower cut off and these people expelled from the country where they were born, and where they made the highest contribution to the arts, sciences, and culture which grace the world.

This is the community which produced Heine, Einstein, Willstätter, Haber, Ludwig, Ehrlich, Reinhardt, and Bruno Walter. But the result has been no different from that elsewhere.

What are the observable facts in regard to the German-Jewish situation to-day? Jews are not

attacked upon religious grounds. On the contrary, the Christian religion, admitted to have Jewish roots, is attacked as anti-Nazi. In the report of the British and Foreign Bible Society for 1936 it is stated that the colporteurs of the Society encounter much opposition in Germany as a result of the prejudice against Jews. Typical remarks are: "Surely you don't still try to sell this old Jewish book? It will soon vanish"; or, again: "How dare you come to us with these Jewish books?—Our bible is Hitler's *Mein Kampf*. If you had read that, you would no longer sell such lying books." Jews are attacked for being that which they are, and from which they can never change, of being born of Jewish blood. They are told, and the German population is told, that this and this alone excludes a human being from normal human considerations; that for this reason he merits treatment that is never accorded to any other section of humanity. He is to be outlawed, he does not, and is not, intended to enjoy the privileges of citizenship. He is entitled to no protection at the Courts of Law; he is entitled to no protection from the police. It is a patriotic and almost holy act to impoverish him by any method that may be at hand; to drive him out of business, to make it impossible

INTRODUCTION

for him to carry on his affairs, to enjoy even a fractional part of the value of whatever property he may happen to possess.

These words may conjure in the minds of many the idea of despoiling the rich and corpulent Semites, who have, by illicit means, accumulated vast fortunes. I should like at this stage of the book to disillusion my readers on this point.

Rich Jews exist. Millions of poor Jews exist. The vast majority of our people live in penury, and in the most miserable conditions. Yet it is true, and I think it should be a boast rather than a reproach, that the Jews appear in every walk of life: among every people, in England, in Germany, in France, in China, in Russia, in America. You find them among the capitalists, and you find them among the communists, you find them among athletes, you find them among criminals; you find them among the artists, you find them among the labourers, but you rarely find them among that one great class which is the root and basis of all peoples, that is, upon the land. In most countries, for centuries, it has been illegal for Jews to own land. Moreover, land is the most immobile of all assets, and to a people perpetually driven from one place to another, the ownership

THY NEIGHBOUR

of land would, in the past, have been an act of folly.

Labour upon the land is a root connection between people and earth itself, from which no ethnic group can be deprived without suffering a serious loss; throughout all the glories and tribulations of the last 2000 years Jewry has been deprived of this essential contact. It has made good the loss by living in a land of the intellect, a land of law and fairy-tales, of prophecy and of fact which have counterbalanced each other to produce a tradition and a faith which have served Jewry as a country.

But it has not been until our time that a conjunction of events has opened to the Jew a chance of returning to normal human life—to become an ordinary man of flesh and blood, standing upon his own soil, surrounded by sympathetic neighbours of his own kind and faith. That is the chapter of Jewish history which we of our generation are now writing. It is a chapter to which many hands and many hearts can contribute. The declaration for the National Home by the Nations of the World is an outstanding act of dramatic significance in the history of the many centuries which comprise the period of the civilized human story. It shines as an ideal in a dull

INTRODUCTION

and selfish world. But to-day it is no longer a matter of ideals or of theories. It is a question of bare and bitter necessity that drives the Jew out of the Europe which ruthlessly persecutes him, back to his homeland on the shores of the Mediterranean.

THY NEIGHBOUR

The study of the history of Europe during the past centuries teaches us one uniform lesson: That the nations which have received and in any way dealt fairly and mercifully with the Jew have prospered; and that the nations that have tortured and oppressed him have written out their own curse.

OLIVE SCHREINER (1906)

CHAPTER I

The Jew in Europe To-day

An evil chance had placed on the throne an absolute ruler . . . over an administration which is among the most despotic and probably the most corrupt and the most cruel in Europe.

W. E. H. LECKY (1896)

WHAT is the situation in which the Jews now find themselves in the Europe of to-day? First let us consider Germany. In 1932 they were a community six hundred thousand strong. The rigorous treatment to which they have been subjected by the Nazi régime has caused over one-sixth of the population to emigrate, so that the number now remaining is under half a million. Many of these have dwelt in the land longer than some of the so-called Germans. Jewish tombstones have been found in Roman cemeteries of the Rhineland of a time when the present German inhabitants were still migrant tribes. Of all the assimilated Jews of the world they were the most assimilated. They have been accused of having augmented their total in the post-war years by large numbers of immigrants from

Poland and Eastern Europe. This charge is disproved by the official statistical publication of the German Government, *Wirtschaft und Statistik*¹ which said that from 1910 to 1933 the number of foreign Jews of *all* kinds resident in Germany only increased from 76,387 to 98,747. This means that out of a total of nearly six hundred thousand there was, over a period of nearly a quarter of a century, an increase of only 22,000.

The German Jewish community has added glory and lustre to every branch of the national life of their Fatherland. Of the forty-four Nobel Prizes awarded to Germany, seven were gained by full Jews and four by Jews of mixed descent. And what is their reward? It has been admirably described by the Bishop of Durham in his preface to the *Yellow Spot*, in the following words:

I find it difficult to discover in the records of persecution, many and sombre as they are, anything quite equivalent to the persecution of the Jews which now proceeds in Germany. The nearest parallel is the persecution of the early Christians by the Pagan Empire of Rome, but that was directed against a novel sect which had no roots in history and which professed principles which

¹ *Wirtschaft und Statistik, Statistisches Reichsamt, Berlin, November 1935.*

THE JEW IN EUROPE TO-DAY

did certainly conflict with the legal requirements of Roman citizenship. How different is the case of the Jews! They have been resident in Germany for centuries: they have made rich contributions to German science, art, and literature; their expulsion from Germany empties the chairs of the German universities of many of their most distinguished professors, and inflicts on German society a far-extending dislocation. In the Great War the German Jews fought alongside their fellow-citizens. In order to make possible the present persecution, it has been necessary deliberately to recreate in the German people the mentality of the Middle Ages. In those times of brutal ignorance and childish credulity the Jews inevitably aroused against themselves the darkest suspicions of the one, and the fiercest resentments of the other. Nothing was too horrible to be suspected: nothing was too incredible to be believed. But then persecution could consist with sincerity in the persecutors for it might seem to be demanded by religion. But to-day. Modern Germany has stood in the van of intellectual movement, and has repudiated the restraints of traditional Christianity more completely than any other community in Christendom. It is impossible in the case of modern Germans to offer the medieval excuses for this resuscitation of medieval barbarism. A new principle of persecution has had to be discovered. Not religion, but race has provided the requisite plea. No longer the error

THY NEIGHBOUR

of the mind, but the poison of the blood is to stamp the Jew as unsafe for German citizenship! A pseudo-scientific hallucination, which every modernly educated man knows to be such, has been generally perverted, and the conditions of limitless oppression have been created.

Conditions as they are to-day in Germany are but imperfectly understood even by the inhabitants of the country themselves. To the tourist and the casual observer, life in the large towns appears to be quite normal. In most cases he has neither the time nor the opportunity to go into the alleys and byways to discover what really is going on behind the scenes. But in the countryside the position is more open. Villages cannot hush up things in the manner of the big cities. The Terror appears in all its nakedness.

The Nuremberg Decrees of September 1935 have completed the legal process of turning the Jews into outcasts and untouchables. They are deprived of the power of voting in all elections; they may not hold any civil offices, they may not hoist the national colours. In peace time they are excluded from the army, but on the outbreak of hostilities they are to be called up and placed in special battalions by themselves. To them will be accorded the doubtful privilege of serving as

THE JEW IN EUROPE TO-DAY

cannon fodder for the land which has despised and rejected them. "For the protection of German blood and German honour" marriages between Jews and non-Jews are forbidden, and extra-marital relations are to be punished with long terms of penal servitude. Vindictive and mean as these laws are, the last refinement of hatred and venom is surely reached in the decree which forbids Jews to employ in domestic service non-Jewish females under the age of 45.

Hard as is the life that Jews have to live in the towns, it is unbearable in the villages where there is no hope of their effacing themselves. The dwelling of every Jew is known, often it is marked with a distinguishing sign—the Yellow Spot of the Middle Ages. Small islands in the midst of a hostile countryside, they do not know how much longer they will be allowed to exist. Their life is one of constant fear and intimidation. When they retire at night, sleep is long in coming, they lie awake listening, they know not for what. To their tortured senses the hooting of an owl is a pre-arranged signal for a raiding party, distant footsteps herald the approach of a gang of Brown-shirt hooligans.

The pogroms in the villages of Gunzenhausen, Neu Wedell, and Amswalde, to mention but a few,

THY NEIGHBOUR

all bear witness that these fears are not solely born of fantasy.

A systematic attempt is being made to drive the Jews from out the rural districts. At the entrance to almost every village is to be found a notice "No Jews allowed", or "The father of the Jews is the Devil". Ruthlessly they are being squeezed out of economic life. Have they a shop, it is so watched that no one dare enter it; have they a plot of land and a cow, then they are forbidden to sell to the local co-operatives. If they are cattle dealers they are forbidden to take part in fairs or markets, and at such fairs as they are allowed to attend, a special section is assigned to them, where, boycotted by all, they wait in vain for customers.

In a prominent position in the village street is to be found the special display case of the pornographic *Stürmer*, owned by the notorious Julius Streicher. Not only is it read by the adults, but its vile contents are often made the basis of lessons in "Racial science" for the school children. The effect that this has on young and impressionable minds may be judged by the following extract of a letter written by a school-girl to the *Stürmer* and published in its issue No. 29, 1934:

THE JEW IN EUROPE TO-DAY

DEAR STÜRMER,

District Leader Streicher has told us so much about the Jews that we really hate them awfully. We were set a composition in school on "The Jews are our Misfortune". I should like you to publish mine.

Unfortunately, many people still say nowadays: "The Jews, too, are God's creatures. That's why you must hold them in respect." But we say: "Vermin are also creatures, yet we destroy them".

It can readily be imagined that the Jewish children who have to attend these schools are tormented beyond endurance. Every petty occasion is utilised to humiliate and degrade them. The education authorities of Bavaria decreed, in August 1935, that

Non-Aryan pupils, whether boys or girls, must not be taken on school outings. During the break period of their own class they must attend lessons in some other class selected by the headmaster.

Another favourite device in the schools where milk is distributed free, is to cause the Jewish children to queue up with the others, but when their turn comes they are told, "No milk for Jews". Even so, they are not allowed to avoid the humiliation of the wait in the queue.

THY NEIGHBOUR

The most recent reports from Kassel, whence my own family was drawn, describe a state of affairs which is almost incredible to us in England. The whole district is plastered with anti-semitic posters of the most offensive type. Conditions vary from village to village in the region, but a few examples may be illuminating. In some places effigies are hung up in the market-place, "So are hanged all those who buy in Jewish shops". In other villages every Jewish house is marked with a special sign, and the other houses have notices on their doors, "Entrance to Jews *verboden*". The school children are encouraged to throw stones at their Jewish playmates, and at the grown-ups, while their elders egg them on with mocking jeers. Throughout the province of Kassel the prohibition to buy from or sell to Jews is so strict, that in many of the villages Jews dare not leave their homes by day to buy food for fear of the violence of the population, but have to venture out at night to buy the necessities of life from some kindly shopkeeper who has taken compassion on their plight.

What I wish my non-Jewish readers to realise is the effect of this vile treatment upon the human being. I should like them to imagine themselves, man or woman, in a situation in

THE JEW IN EUROPE TO-DAY

which, strong and active, in the possession of full faculties, armed with an equipment which fits them for useful citizenship; devoted to that family life which has been such a characteristic of Jewish existence, yet they are unable to show themselves in the streets without running the risk of being stoned and insulted.

Is it reasonable to expect men and women to maintain any shred of their dignity in such circumstances? Apart from the fact that they may be in want, apart from the fact that they are ostracised socially to an extent that their only sanctuary is the four walls which surround them, they are open to indignities of a nature which pass the limit of human endurance. And they know that they suffer as part of the policy of the Government of what claims to be one of the most advanced and civilised nations of the world.

The Jews have fled for refuge to the large towns, but here their lot is little better. The *Yellow Spot*¹ gives a long list of towns where pogroms and mass arrests have taken place in 1935. The list covers every part of the country. Franconia, the province of Julius Streicher, alone is not included. But here, though they had occurred

¹ *The Yellow Spot*, London, 1936, Victor Gollancz.

THY NEIGHBOUR

earlier, acts of violence could not take place in 1935, since by that time throughout the whole district the Jews had already been eliminated.

In the words of *The Times*, Germany has become a paradise for blackmailers. An incautious word, which might be interpreted as being hostile to the Government, or a lack of readiness to make way in the street to non-Jews sufficiently quickly, which is termed "provocative behaviour", these if denounced by anyone bearing a grudge are sufficient to send a Jew to the concentration camp for an indefinite period. Once in that dreaded place anything may befall him. It is true that German officials have announced that the first excesses are over and that beatings-up and physical misconduct no longer take place in the camps, but such information as filters through indicates that little if no improvement has taken place.

It is in no spirit of wishing to harrow unnecessarily the feelings of my readers that I give a few authenticated examples of what has actually taken place in these camps where the prisoners are at the mercy of the sadistic bullies over them.

There is the testimony of the Rabbi of Rathenau interned in the concentration camp at

THE JEW IN EUROPE TO-DAY

Oranienburg, at a time when the Jewish New Year was approaching:

I went to see the Commandant of the camp to ask for a holiday and for permission to hold divine service. The answer was: "Nothing of that kind here."

Instead, when the first festival came, all those who were Jews were called at 6 a.m. to do a special job. We were quick-marched around the courtyard and then ordered to stop in front of the manure pit. We had to climb into it and there line up. I was dragged out of the midst of my comrades and put into the centre of the pit, S.S. Leader Everling shouting at me: "Well, Rabbi, you can hold your divine service here."

Every instinct in me rebelled against having our faith thus dragged literally into the mire. I stood silent.

Everling: "So you refuse to obey orders?"

I do not hold divine service in a manure pit.

Everling dragged me out of the pit—rubber truncheons and the butts of rifles rained blows upon me. I was carried to my bunk and for two hours I lay unconscious.

That afternoon we were brought to the same manure pit, where the others had had to work all the morning. This time Everling ordered me to deliver a lecture on Judaism and other religions.

I began:

The Jewish, in common with other religions, is

THY NEIGHBOUR

based on the Ten Commandments and upon the beautiful Biblical injunction, "Love thy neighbour as thyself"—Here Everling interrupted me: "Stop, you pig, we'll teach you what loving one's neighbour means."

Another pathetic case at Oranienburg concerns the pacifist poet, Erich Mühsam, whose two thumbs were broken by a guard when he requested permission to write to his wife. Later it was announced that he had committed suicide, but fellow-prisoners since released declare that he was murdered in prison by the authorities.

The blind hatred of the Nazis and their contempt of all laws of justice is instanced in their treatment of Dr. Hans Serelman, formerly of Niederlungwitz. This unfortunate doctor was sent to the concentration camp on a charge of "race defilement", the charge being based on the fact that to save the life of an Aryan patient he had given some of his own non-Aryan blood in a blood transfusion. Dr. Serelman's treatment in the concentration camp was such that he attempted to commit suicide.

The "dry pogrom" continues with ever-increasing intensity. In the towns as in the villages Jewish shops and firms are picketed. People who venture to deal there run the risk of seeing

THE JEW IN EUROPE TO-DAY

their photograph appear in the local newspaper of the following day, with unpleasant consequences for themselves. Sometimes they take the form of a specially organised protest demonstration, with the inevitably accompanying "protective arrest"; if they are municipal employees or civil servants they are instantly dismissed, whilst if they are in receipt of relief it is stopped.

Socially the Jews are treated as lepers. For a long time now they have been excluded from town baths and wash-houses; cinemas, theatres, and restaurants display notices that their custom is not desired. In some towns Jews are not allowed to ride in trams, and serious consideration has been given as to whether their electric light, gas, and water should not be cut off.

This treatment has a crushing effect on the whole population. Sober and experienced non-Jewish Englishmen who have recently visited the country, report that fifty per cent of the total employable Jewish population is suffering from unemployment and totally dependent upon the other fifty per cent for support. They receive little or no help from the Government.

Since it is the policy to force Jews out of business, not only is the percentage of unemployment bound to increase, but the capacity of the re-

THY NEIGHBOUR

mainder to succour is equally bound to diminish. In the face of this the Jewish community is showing amazing courage and steadiness. Every effort is made to re-train the younger generation for skilled manual labour, as opposed to the intellectual pursuits for which they had been educated. Every effort is made to enable them to emigrate—but there is no country to take them. In spite of this all who have personally investigated the matter bear testimony to one outstanding fact—the high spiritual level upon which the life of the German Jew is lived; and to the amazing spiritual force and intensity which has grown up, particularly among the younger people, as a result of the persecution.

It is hard to imagine a modern government, in the days when every country is striving to reduce unemployment or to mitigate its evils, which sets out deliberately to eliminate six hundred thousand of its citizens by these means. Well has it been described as the 'Dry Pogrom' and the 'Cold Exodus'.

The loneliness of the Jews is appalling; a glimpse of this is obtained from a speech of Rabbi Prinz, of Berlin:

On the market-place, in the street, in the public tavern, everywhere is ghetto. And it has a sign.

THE JEW IN EUROPE TO-DAY

That sign is: Neighbourless. Perhaps this has never happened in the world, and no one knows how long it can be borne; life without a neighbour. Everywhere life depends upon the "neighbour". Not necessarily the friend, but the man who is willing to help his neighbour go through life, not to make things difficult for him, to watch his cares and efforts with a friendly eye. That we have lost.

The Court at Breslau has ruled that it is contrary to the Nuremberg Laws for a non-Jew to have the slightest friendly relations with a Jew. The Jewish deaf are excluded from the Central Organization for the German Deaf, the Jewish blind have been expelled from the German Association of the Blind, and the names of the Jewish dead may no longer appear on German War Memorials.

So much for Germany. Let us turn to other countries. Anti-semitism is a phase of human thought, which, based on the conditioning of the mind from the childhood days of the great mass of the populations of the West, spreads very rapidly. It is not my purpose in this book to deal extensively with its causes, they are numerous. It is not to be supposed that Jews, being of flesh and blood, are without faults, and that they did not bring some trouble on themselves.

THY NEIGHBOUR

Naturally they did. There is no human being who is without fault. The Jews are no exception. If anything, it may be said that, since they so often see other people at their worst, they are especially likely to assimilate their defects. I claim that they have done great work for humanity. It may be urged against me that amongst them there are many who have done evil. I cannot dispute this. I try to observe the facts, and draw logical deductions.

Let us for a moment observe conditions in other parts of Europe. On March 10th, 1936, there was a minor pogrom at Przytyk, in Poland. It was not reported in the British Press. In view of the greater horrors in Germany, these matters are to-day no longer considered as having news-value. What happened is not exceptional. A prolonged anti-semitic campaign of the most violent character had inflamed the populace. The leaders of the Jewish community went to the heads of the district police, informing them of the situation, and requesting protection. They were insolently received, and asked how many of them had been killed, that they should come forward with such demands. No special aid was afforded them. In the course of a few days a violent crowd gathered in the square of the town,

THE JEW IN EUROPE TO-DAY

which has some 700 Jewish families. Rabid anti-semitic speeches were made. After a suitable period for engendering the required amount of excitement and animosity, a crowd proceeded to move out of the square in the direction of the Jewish quarter. A contingent of young and vigorous Jews threw themselves across the street in order to defend their homes. They were promptly dispersed by the police. The crowd then proceeded unhindered on its mission of destruction. Every Jewish house in the town was wrecked, furniture was smashed, houses set afire. Three Jews were killed, twenty or thirty injured sufficiently to be sent to hospital, and many more received superficial wounds. They were left in a helpless and terror-stricken condition, hopelessly outnumbered, deprived of any means of defence, and at the mercy of a population which might proceed to greater lengths if they felt so disposed. In this instance one is not dealing with official Government policy. The Polish Government have taken steps to repair some of the damage. Certain officials have been dismissed; some ring-leaders received terms of imprisonment. The court, however, justified heavier sentences on the arrested Jews by stating that the pogrom would not have taken such a serious turn had not the

THY NEIGHBOUR

Jews attacked the peasants. In other words, they were punished for attempting to defend themselves. But it is not possible for the authorities to take very energetic action because, after all, they are not a Government at the head of the Jewish people, but at the head of the Polish people.

What the Poles do to the Jews has been held by the greatest countries in the world to be the affair of the Poles. It is the effect of this upon the Jew to which I particularly desire to draw attention. What is the Jew to think about the great non-Jewish world? In countries where, from a long assimilation, he understands them and has shared in their achievements, he is treated in a way in which it is forbidden to treat animals. In other lands, where he has always kept to himself and lives as a separate community, he knows the outside world as a strange beast, sometimes to be placated, sometimes to be bought off, sometimes rising like a savage brute to destroy him and his on no particular provocation, or on the basis of some trumped-up invention; an animal which may any day penetrate the sanctity of his home, break his windows, smash up his furniture, beat up his wife and children, leaving a mark of terror and horror upon their lives which will last unto the grave.

THE JEW IN EUROPE TO-DAY

That is the individual aspect of Jewish life to-day, but there is a much larger national side which deserves consideration. After an experience of many centuries, the Jews have been driven by law, by religion, by terrorism, to avoid the ownership of immovable goods. Those who are liable to be expelled at a moment's notice take care to have no property that cannot easily be taken with them. They have, therefore, become pedlars, merchants, moneylenders, doctors, lawyers, professional men, following any occupation which does not imply a rooted existence, and which makes rapid removal possible. This fact is very frequently brought up against them. In no country are they, *as a people, rooted in the soil or in manufacture, occupations which are described, and rightly described, as valuable and creative.* In the more stable countries of recent years, Jewish manufacturers have become a common phenomenon, but they still remain a comparative rarity in the world as a whole. In fact, the Jews have become the middlemen and the town-dwellers of the countries in which they have been dispersed. It makes no difference whether you take Austrian Jewry, reputed to be 200,000 strong, of whom ninety per cent dwell in Vienna, or Roumanian Jewry at some 900,000, of which

THEY NEIGHBOUR

eleven per cent dwell in Bucharest and Czernowitz. It can be taken that throughout Europe this is the general rule.

There is an exceptional situation in parts of the Balkans and in Bulgaria. The Jews arrived in those countries from Spain, when, at the time of the Inquisition, Turkey was one of the few countries which opened its doors to the Jewish immigrants. Bulgaria was then a part of Turkey. During the course of time the Jewish population banded together with their fellow-Bulgarians against the Turkish oppressor, together they fought for the freedom of Bulgaria, and in this struggle acquired friendship and mutual respect, which is unusual. They have a rather different economic distribution of population, but the great supervening rule of European Jewry has not permitted them to escape altogether.

The days of cheap and rapid transport opened new vistas for the Jews beyond the narrow confines of their European ghettos. America seemed to them to offer boundless opportunities, and in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth, they flocked thither in hundreds of thousands. So much so, that one can describe this as the fourth great migration of the Jewish people. America was the land of the ever-open door, the words

THE JEW IN EUROPE TO-DAY

engraved in bronze on the base of the Statue of Liberty are from the writings of a Jewess, and were expressive of the new hopes roused. Since the war this migration has been almost totally arrested, but nevertheless the Jewish population of the United States is over four millions.

As we have seen, the Jew tends to be the middleman. But the development of modern economics in Eastern Europe has rendered the middleman a far less important factor in the life of a country than he used to be. Large corporations under national direction are being set up to take his place, and in the corporations the small Jewish shopkeeper, the small Jewish pedlar, plays no part and finds no place. He is being squeezed out of the economic life of his native country, not by any conscious anti-semitic act of the people or of the Government, but by the purely natural development of modern tendencies. He turns to other occupations in a Europe suffering from unemployment and from overcrowding of the liberal professions. His despair gives him greater energy. Jewish youths, realizing the hopelessness with which they may be afflicted, turn to their university careers and to their studies with an intensity and devotion which is abnormal. They are gifted with brains which have been sharpened by

THY NEIGHBOUR

centuries of adversity. They tend to outstrip their non-Jewish competitors, who have a more normal and leisurely view of their educational obligations. The result may possibly be foreseen; intelligence, energy, and enterprise are opposed by safety-razor blades fixed in bamboo sticks. In fact scarcely a day passes on which one does not learn that Jewish students of some university have been driven out by non-Jews in turmoil and bloodshed. It is almost impossible to convey to those who have not experienced this personally the effect that this situation has on those who are subjected to it. I cannot lay claim to a great knowledge of Central Europe, but I have had an opportunity of visiting the Jewish communities of some of these countries. While I want to refrain in this statement of my observations from heart-rending stories acquired either at first- or at second-hand, there is one experience which has made an indelible impression on me, and which sums up the situation in a few sentences.

When in Warsaw I was attended by a deputation of a Jewish Student Corps of Warsaw University. The Polish students are organized into Corps, rather on the lines of those of the German universities. They wear gay uniforms,

THE JEW IN EUROPE TO-DAY

with frogged jackets, caps, white breeches, top boots. They fight each other with special swords which they also carry on ceremonial occasions. It is part of the normal life of the continental university, and excites no more attention in those countries than do university athletic competitions in this country.

It is hard to describe to the English mind the fearful conditions in which the Jews of Warsaw exist. A corner of the main street was pointed out to me, opposite the British Legation, as being the spot where it is customary to attack Jews whenever trouble arises. It is here, when passing along the way, that they are bludgeoned and knifed. This corner, as my companion informed me, is drenched with Jewish blood. Let it not be imagined on such occasions that it is of any use for the victims to appeal for protection to the police. No help is forthcoming from them—at best a sneer and a laugh, at worst a kick.

It is pathetic that the Jewish students excluded from the ordinary Corps of the University should have formed a Corps of their own. Four young men of magnificent physique and appearance, and, from all external signs, most excellent types of young manhood, entered my sitting-room at the hotel, dressed in their full regalia. The leader

THY NEIGHBOUR

made me a delightful speech in carefully prepared English. He invested me as an Honorary Member of their Corps, and in doing so presented me with a ribbon with their colours, which are Cambridge Blue, Gold, and Black. He explained to me the situation in Poland, and in the University, and the significance of their ribbon. "Blue," he told me, "is for the skies of Eretz Israel¹, the country of our origin; gold is for the hope of our Redemption, and black is for the Despair in which we now live."

¹ Land of Israel—Palestine.

CHAPTER II

From Abraham to Disraeli

Now the Lord had said unto Abram, Get thee out of the country, and from thy kindred, and from thy father's house, unto a Land that I will shew thee: And I will make of thee a great nation, and I will bless thee, and make thy name great; and thou shalt be a blessing.—*Genesis* xii, 1-2.

I

AN extraordinary aspect of the present return to Palestine is that in a strange way it resembles a recurrent dream. As in a dream which expresses the subconscious wish fulfilment, and repeats itself with extraordinary variations to the conscious dream mind, so the history of Eretz Israel and the connection with Israel seems, like a deep and instinctive wish-fulfilment, derived from a power which they can by no conscious effort control, but which leads them, century after century, in spite of all difficulties and agonies, through the same familiar paths.

If we go to the very beginning we find the revolt of an individual as the foundation of our story. Abraham, who derived from the most

THY NEIGHBOUR

highly civilized city of his age, decided to strike out on a line for himself. Jewish folk-lore is full of stories of his early life in Ur of the Chaldees. His father is supposed to have been a maker of idols, and there are many stories as to how the young man, representing the vision of rising generations beyond his time, expressed his contempt for the images; of how he destroyed the stock-in-trade of his father's shop, and the trouble that he got into as a result of his constant condition of both spiritual and intellectual revolt. Eventually he set off into the mysteries of the desert, and there, in that strange wilderness—"the hiding-place of the world"—he arrived at some dim spiritual conclusion, centred upon the one all-powerful and all-pervading conviction of monotheism, and the direct relation between God and Man. His entry into Palestine and his history there is by no means the story of the emergence of a local tribal chief, but the story of a wanderer of the most civilized and educated type of his time, striking out for himself and looking for a fresh land, a congenial soil in which to implant the physical attributes of his spiritual experience.

One cannot help being struck by the similarity between this and other returns of the Jews to

FROM ABRAHAM TO DISRAELI

Palestine. The return under Moses repeated many features of the earlier arrival. The children of Israel were part of the mighty Empire of Egypt, the cultural and political centre of the world of that day. Moses himself was a highly cultured individual. Yet they braved the perils of the desert for a land which could only have existed as a dim tradition in the popular mind. At the time of Cyrus, the return is made from Babylon, again a great centre of civilization, with mighty cities and a highly developed culture, to a little barren country which, deprived of the care and husbandry of its natural inhabitants, had been allowed to degenerate into a wretched and neglected province.

Once more the story repeats itself three thousand years later, at the turn of the present century, and the phenomenon of the return of a cultured people voluntarily to plant themselves again upon the bare and neglected soil reappears. We see the voluntary immolation upon the altar of the necessity of the contact between man and the earth, and must accept the fact that, time after time, the attempted absorption of these people among the town-dwellers, the attempted assimilation into other cultures and among other nations, has been a complete failure—a failure marked

THY NEIGHBOUR

not only by a discontent of the people of Israel themselves, but by oppressions and persecutions which drove the unwilling who yet hungered after the "fleshpots of Egypt" to throw in their lot with those who were moved by a deeper spiritual vision. There seems to be a certain semitic prototype which hardly varies from its original founder. The main outline of the history and policy of Moses bears immense similarity to that of Abraham. One observes similar broad characteristics in the life and history of the late Dr. Herzl, who, cultured, educated, with all the spiritual heritage of that great European capital, Vienna, abandoned everything which men hold good and embarked upon a policy which at first would appear as absurd as Moses' mission of delivery, when he set out from Egypt to Sinai, and as futile as the hope of Abraham that the offspring of the aged and childless Sarah should multiply like the sands of the sea, and inherit the land of Canaan. Yet in a short space of forty years the world has seen the fruition of Herzl's political policy to an extent undreamed of when he first began his simple and naïve diary in 1894.

That Abraham came of some stock which had a big significance, at any rate in his own eyes,

seems clear from the fact that he sent back to Ur of the Chaldees to find a wife for his son, and the simple story of Rebecca at the Well, which has since become the common possession of nearly all the educated world, took place in conditions which are unbelievably unchanged even to this day.

The women drawing water from the well in the evening remains one of the principal daily social functions of the Near East: the advent of the weary traveller with his camel still continues.

In Palestine itself the links of the Old and New World are so obvious as to raise no question in the mind of the ordinary man. The principles laid down in the early family history have remained the traditions of a People, and have preserved to an extraordinary degree the identity of a nation thousands of years later in entirely different conditions. It is in the third generation, in the story of Jacob, with its queer mixture of deceit and idealism, of the eternal vision and patriarchal superstition, that the destiny of Israel is settled. The intellectual path is chosen, which prevents that return to the purely peasant type, which would be the normal outcome of the family history. The history of Joseph is another

THY NEIGHBOUR

form of the story of Jacob, and the beginning of a series of such stories which continue throughout known history.

Joseph, an unknown Jewish slave, became, in modern parlance, the Prime Minister of Egypt. Disraeli, the unknown Jewish youth, became, centuries later, the Prime Minister of England. Each was a loyal and devoted servant of his country: each helped to build up the greatness and prosperity of the State for which he worked. Both had but a fleeting regard for the destiny of the Jewish people, absorbed as they were in the creative work which they had undertaken. Joseph brought his people to Egypt, and no doubt left them well situated, but when next we hear of them, the picture is entirely changed, and we get the first recorded history of violent anti-semitic persecution.

These people, apparently possessing a spark of vitality above the normal, had multiplied at a great rate, in spite of the hardships of their condition. In order to hinder their growth it was the practice of the Egyptian Government to destroy the male children of Israel, "and the servants of Pharaoh stood without . . . to destroy the male children of Israel".

II

And they said unto Moses, Let us alone that we may serve the Egyptians.

Exodus xiv, 11-12.

THERE is no need to repeat the well-known History of that period; it has become the property of mankind. Here we get raised for the first time that tangle of motives which has been repeated again and again and which exists in Europe to-day. The Egyptians are frightened of the Jews, and take violent steps to prevent their development. Under that intolerable pressure a man with vision arises to lead the Jews back to Palestine. But the Egyptians resist their departure, because they cannot afford to do without them, and they cannot face the gap which will be torn in their economic structure, if this exodus were to come about. Precisely the same position exists to-day, and to-day as then the cry goes up, "Let my people go."

But in Germany, as in Egypt, the authorities are not really prepared to face the consequences of their own policy. Moses succeeded in spite of greater obstacles than exist at present. It is obvious that many of the people, especially those best situated, were reluctant to embark upon this

THY NEIGHBOUR

desperate adventure. The powers that he must have exercised to move them on the one hand and Pharaoh on the other are truly phenomenal. The importance of the event to the Jewish people cannot be exaggerated.

Let us suppose he had failed. The great epic of the Jews would never have been. Though Christianity might have come to mankind by another route, though the Ten Commandments of Moses and the wisdom of Solomon might have emerged in some other way, Israel would have had no part in it. The poetry of David would have remained unsung, and those Psalms which have been the joy and the comfort of countless millions would not have been written. The prophecies of Isaiah, of Jeremiah, of Amos, would have remained unspoken.

The Bible would never have been written, the book that soars above the literature of all the world, whose poetry and whose inspiration stand high up, alone, the pinnacle of human thought. And if these things had been in some other form Israel would have had no part in it. Were they right, those who murmured, "Let us alone that we may serve the Egyptians"? Had they prevailed Israel would have remained enslaved, Israel would have perished, they would have been lost

among the hordes of Egypt and the modern traveller to Cairo and the Nile would have found no trace of them. The long story of torment that lasts from that day to this would never have been written, the suffering and the agony of generations of Jews would have been avoided.

But when one reads in Exodus how, when the dust of the host of Egypt appeared on the horizon—when all seemed lost—the Red Sea in front, the chariots of Pharaoh behind, and the timorous Israelites clamoured. “Were there no graves in Egypt that you must bring us here?” What a mighty answer! The sea itself rolled back and Israel passed, but the hosts of Pharaoh were destroyed. Whether you accept a miraculous explanation of the events, or whether you believe, as I do, that the story is more wonderful and more beautiful if it is due to a perfectly natural phenomenon occurring at a vital moment, it remains a glorious opening to a great history.

Yet most beautiful of all is the Talmudic comment, that when the hosts of Egypt were engulfed in the sea the angels were about to break forth in songs of jubilation, “But the Holy One, blessed be He, silenced them with the words: ‘My creatures are perishing, and ye are ready to sing’.”

THY NEIGHBOUR

And so be it. We were called to a great destiny, and he who is ashamed to be a Jew must be craven indeed. So the Kingdom of Israel came to pass in the land of Israel, and the dreams and prophecies of Abraham were fulfilled.

During the long intervening period in which the Kingdom flourished under David and Solomon, and dwindled in lesser hands, a nation and a religion were crystallized.

The geographical situation of countries has played a predominant part in their history, and Palestine was no exception. As the land corridor between Asia Minor and Egypt it was the scene of endless conflicts and invasions, both from the north and the south. Its history was as unsettled as that of all countries of that period, but it fell again into its eternal rhythm with the invasion of Nebuchadnezzar, and the destruction of the First Temple.

It is hard to over-emphasize the spiritual significance to the Jews of this event. The foundation of the Law, the Ten Commandments inscribed upon the tablets of stone, the passage through the desert of the Ark of the Covenant, the final enshrinement of the Ark within the Temple of Solomon were the basic factors of their existence, signifying the relationship between themselves

FROM ABRAHAM TO DISRAELI

and God with the fulfilment of His promises. The destruction of the Temple and the exile to Babylon were therefore not only the cause of a physical but also of a profound spiritual upheaval, which might have been expected to destroy the faith of any people. For the Temple was more than a cathedral in a capital city; it was the very heart and nerve centre of the nation, the core of all spiritual, juridical, and political authority. Jewry, however, survived, and after seventy years, in the reign of Cyrus, the first "Balfour declaration" was promulgated.

The early days of the second Kingdom represent an equally remarkable parallel to modern times. The ensuing historical period records the re-establishment of the Jewish State, and the usual series of wars and invasions. When Alexander the Great divided up his kingdom amongst his generals at his death in Persia in the year 323 B.C., Syria and Palestine were left as a part of the inheritance first of the Egyptian Ptolemys and then of the Seleucid Dynasty. One of the members of that Dynasty, Antiochus Epiphanes, determined, as others have done both before and since, to have no nonsense with the Jews to stamp out their religion, to subject them to his own laws, to abolish their own legal system, and

to establish himself firmly as sovereign of the territory with the Jews as a subject people. As can well be imagined, it was not easy to change the laws and customs of such a nation. The policy was doomed to meet with disastrous failure. The history is recounted in the books of the Maccabees. Once more events took the most improbable and unlikely turn.

A small band of devoted zealots, under the leadership of the brothers, known as the Maccabees, and headed by Judas Maccabeus, drove the Syrians out of Palestine, re-established the liberties of Israel and achieved a power and a prestige which enabled them to enter into official correspondence and alliance with Rome. The temple was rededicated; the legal and religious institutions were reconstituted. Law and order was restored in the land, and the Hasmonean Dynasty was founded.

Slowly and inevitably the grip of Rome tightened on the country, until a circumscribed local autonomy subject to Roman supervision was all that remained.

It is into this period that Jesus of Nazareth was born, at a time of acute religious controversy among the Jews and in the pagan world. There can be no doubt that a section of the Jewish

population of Palestine looked to Jesus of Nazareth as a new leader of the Maccabean spirit. They knew that they had, as a people, shaken off the domination of Syria and re-established themselves in independence, and many of them felt that it needed but one determined effort to achieve the same result in the case of Rome though it might start from a basis no more likely of success than the previous one.

The aristocracy and the priesthood, as exemplified by the Sadducees and the king, being on the whole well satisfied with the treatment they received from Rome, and supported by Rome in their lucrative situations, were quite content with the existing condition of affairs, and anxious to prevent a revolutionary attempt which, with their wider knowledge of the powers of the Roman Empire, they thought would be extremely unlikely to succeed. With their more mundane vision of national affairs, they did not conceive opposition to be in the best interests of the people or the country. There had been throughout this period attempts at revolution against the domination of Rome, all of which had failed, and had been visited with punitive measures of the most fearful and disastrous character.

There was also a progressive religious movement

in Palestine composed of men commonly known as the Pharisees, who were also strongly nationalist in character. They, to some extent, represented in type the Reformist against the Established Christian Church from 1517 onwards, and really incited the people to recover their liberty through a strict adherence to their religious laws, which brought them in constant conflict with the civil and military authorities in Rome. The spiritual doctrine of this movement was that such a strict adherence would invoke the assistance of Jehovah by whose aid alone they could destroy the domination of Rome.

It was at this time that the sect of the Essenes were preaching and practising an ascetic faith, the essence of which was that the spirit of the law was more important than the letter. Jesus of Nazareth, strictly brought up in the Jewish religion, was of the Essenes, and preached in the various synagogues throughout the country in this spirit. His preachings in that political atmosphere ran counter to all the accepted tenets of the established schools of his time. To the Romans and to the aristocrats he was a communist, to the High Church he was a reformer, to the "Puritan Non-Conformists", he ran counter in full measure in his spiritual vision, by which he delivered a new

FROM ABRAHAM TO DISRAELI

interpretation of the letter of the law. He came into conflict with the authorities, and suffered the penalty of death.

It is certain that had He not had a numerous following among the Jews of the time, the authorities, both Roman and Jewish, would have ignored Him. But as the Jewish Courts under Roman régime had no power to inflict or carry out the sentence of death, this was necessarily accomplished by the Roman authorities. The Crucifixion being totally contrary to the Jewish law, and a well-known Roman form of punishment, that particular torment has been so firmly fixed upon us only as a result of historical ignorance. It appears that the whole incident at the time appeared to the ruling classes as of very little moment in view of the fact that outside the Gospels there are but one or two references in contemporary history to the whole event.

It was thirty-five years later that the main Jewish revolution took place. The Romans were at first defeated and sent an expedition to reconquer the country. This expedition laid siege to Jerusalem for 143 days and the extent of the depopulation of the country can be measured by the fact that it is recorded that over a million Jews died during the campaign. Jerusalem was never

THEY NEIGHBOUR

taken by assault, but eventually the inhabitants, starved into a condition of utter feebleness, were unable to resist the entry of the Roman soldiers, during the course of a tremendous fire which broke out in the Temple.

Following upon this the great dispersion began. Jews were forbidden to enter Jerusalem at all except upon the anniversary of the destruction of the City and the Temple. In subsequent years of violent and bitter guerrilla warfare the Jewish population was practically stamped out of the country.

For a long period Jewish colonies had existed all round the Mediterranean. The exodus from Palestine increased these, but large numbers were driven to the east to Babylon, where there still remained a large Jewish colony, and to the west along the north coast of Africa, to Spain, and eventually to the north into Europe.

III

While those around them were grovelling in the darkness of besotted ignorance; while juggling miracles and lying relics were the themes on which almost all Europe was expatiating; while the intellect of Christendom enthralled by countless superstitions, had sunk into a deadly torpor, in

which all love of inquiry and all search for truth was abandoned, the Jews were still pursuing the path of knowledge, amassing learning and stimulating progress with the same unflinching constancy that they manifested in their faith. They were the most skilful physicians, the ablest financiers, and among the most profound philosophers.

W. E. H. LECKY.

THE history of the dispersion is long and complex; one can only take a few salient points.

The story in Spain is too well known to require much repetition. Gathering there under the tolerant rule of the Moors, they helped to develop the power and greatness of that country, until driven out under the Spanish Inquisition.

The community in Alexandria, which enjoyed a large measure of autonomy, was famous for its learning and its culture. When the Roman Empire fell the Jewish scholars remained the repository of the science and learning of Greece and Rome. The Arab invasion which followed the rise of Islam was instructed from the same source, and the curious chain of civilization from Greek into Hebrew, from Hebrew into Arabic, and from Arabic into Latin, was one of the most interesting phases in the history of culture.

THY NEIGHBOUR

The fortunes of Jewry varied in different countries and at different times. Freedom and success in one territory was followed by persecution and expulsion, while in another place opportunities were opened to them. It is impossible to recount these vicissitudes without rewriting the history of Europe solely from this point of view, but for my purpose it is sufficient to describe the general trend and its effect on our people.

Conditions for Jews within the Roman Empire after the Wars of Titus were not as difficult as might have been expected, and many communities flourished round the shores of the Mediterranean and farther inland during the Roman and Byzantine period. Naturally the position grew more difficult when Christianity became the official religion of the Roman Empire, as the words of St. Jerome, written in the fourth century A.D., make clear.

During the Dark Ages that followed the Barbarian invasion throughout Europe, the Jewish settlers became the learned men among a largely illiterate population. They could read and write and perform mathematical calculations among people who were totally incapable of either. They had a gift of tongues, and were, in the earliest days, almost the sole vehicles of international

transactions. But during this time there had been growing up that amazing phenomenon which was to cost them so dear.

The story of Jesus of Nazareth, and the religion of tolerance and humanity which was based upon it, was rapidly absorbing the pagan faith. Eventually theological formulae became a compromise between the old and the new, but the ethics were the ethics of the ancient Rabbi Hillel, "Whatever is hateful unto thee do it not unto thy fellow."

In all countries and among all peoples, religion in its established form has become a part of the machinery of government. Christianity, when it emerged from its period of persecution and became the state religion of all the countries of Europe, was no exception to the rule. At an early stage it came into conflict with Jewry. The priests, with the exception of the Jews, were almost the only literate classes in existence. During the Dark Ages the population found themselves at once in conflict with these strange people. Their very existence was, in those days, a challenge to the verity of the dominant faith. If they remained poor, hounded and downtrodden, they could be cited as a testimony to Christianity: but if they prospered and exercised any power or position, they at once became a challenge to the Church.

THEY NEIGHBOUR

This condition of affairs developed to a crisis at different times in different countries. There were many princes and bishops who tolerated Jewish communities, and who welcomed the learning and the knowledge they brought with them. There were far more who resented their presence, and, avaricious of their prosperity, confiscated their goods and drove them out.

As for the native population, it can hardly be considered surprising that a body of people of strange appearance, possessing, in addition to the language of the locality, an ancient and unknown tongue, endowed with the powers of literacy and calculation, and keeping strange festivals and following strange dietary habits, should be viewed with suspicion and with fear. The fact that they did not try to make converts added to these feelings. They were people who possessed something that they did not even desire to share with others, and it was then, as now, too difficult and complex to explain that what they had and did not need to share, was an inspiration and a mystery due to a traditional inbred quality which was unalterable as time.

Human motives are seldom simple, but usually highly complex, and the human motives that were the basis of the Crusades are no exception

to this rule. Europe was still under the influence of a romantic and heroic period, which had coupled to it the powerful emergence of the Church, not only as an instrument of State, but as the predominating spiritual and intellectual factor. Resultant of these two forces was the realization that the Holy Land was in the hands of the infidels, to the shame and disgrace of the Christian powers. The very manhood of Christianity was slighted by the fact that it had not the enterprise nor the courage based upon the Divine inspiration of its religion to recapture the sacred places.

These two causes alone would not have been enough to make the Crusading epoch what it was. Economic forces played a powerful part. There was then a period of depression. European powers were weary of struggling with each other, countries needed a new outlet. The equipment of mighty expeditions solved many of the social and political problems of the time. Some of the most adventurous and daring spirits of the age were withdrawn from the European battlefields to display their prowess and their valour in the Holy Land. So it came about, for a period of some two centuries, that a series of these expeditions set forth from different countries under different auspices, sometimes purely national, sometimes inter-

THY NEIGHBOUR

national. The recruiting campaign was carried on by a series of impassioned and inspired orators from within the ranks of the Church. Whilst these monks preached under governmental patronage the virtues of the crusading campaign, they at the same time referred to the shame of the existence of Jewish communities in the towns and villages where they spoke. A variety of motives made themselves felt. There is no doubt that, in many cases, an ardent if misguided faith drove the population and its rulers to commit the most horrible excesses upon the Jewish population, although often offering them the alternative of baptism. It was clear to the masses that if the establishment of a universal Christianity, including the capture of Jerusalem and the conversion of the Moslem world, was the objective, then charity must begin at home, and a mass conversion of Jewry was the logical procedure.

There is no doubt that in many cases the offer of such conversion was made to communities collectively. In modern eyes the power of Jewry to resist this appeal, backed by an overwhelming force, may be regarded as truly heroic. In those days it was looked on as a form of obstinacy, directly inspired by Satan. It was impossible, at a period when the world was believed to be flat,

when witches were burned at the stake, when science was a dim and mysterious memory, to imagine that the Jews of all people could resist the appeal of Christianity, based upon inherent virtue. That the tradition of their long civilization was too strong, that their real and profound adherence to their monotheistic faith was too powerful, that their instinctive knowledge of the necessity of their survival was greater than their desire for life, were points that could affect few minds of that epoch. The result was a series of wholesale massacres and expulsions. There are endless gruesome stories in which Jews were herded into their synagogues, and there surrounded and burned to death as a community. There are stories of Jews, in hundreds and in thousands, being driven into rivers and marshes and drowned; there are stories of rapine and murder, of a people drenched in blood, of wholesale slaughter, which spread from one corner of Europe to the other.

So far, this part of our narrative appears simple and logical. There is the example of the infant Church turning upon the parent faith, in whose presence its total majesty can never be established. It is then that one comes upon the salient fact that, in face of this slaughter, in face of this

THY NEIGHBOUR

utterly hopeless position of continuing to live in a Christian Europe and trying to remain a Jewish community, the Jews never flinched. They remained bloody, persecuted, oppressed, deprived of every aspect and attribute of manhood and citizenship, without at any time making any attempt to lose their identity among the majority which engulfed them. It was open to each and every one of them to accept the faith of his neighbours, the ethics of which did not differ much from his own; to accept an offer which put him, as a Jew, upon a racial pinnacle. However, neither cajolery nor coercion could alter that great and almost primeval instinct implanted in our people never to betray the great heritage, the maintenance of which was the sole object of existence.

It was during this period, in the year 1264, when persecution was particularly violent in Germany, that King Boleslav of Poland opened the gates of his country to the Jews. He granted them a charter which ensured them peculiar liberties, and which enabled them to enjoy their own religious and legal system, subject only to his personal jurisdiction, protected them from the malevolence of their neighbours, and gave them the opportunity to introduce and to develop the particular handicrafts and trades in which they had become

FROM ABRAHAM TO DISRAELI

expert. It is interesting to note, in reading this charter, which is still extant, that the blacksmith trade was largely practised by Jews, as also the trades of tailor, shoemaker, weaver, baker, and jeweller.

Among the many provisions for their safety in the charter is one which demonstrates the peculiar medieval aspect of this chapter of the story, and runs as follows :

(Art. 35). We decree that in case a Jew in dire straits calls for help in the night, and his Christian neighbours do not trouble themselves to succour him in his need, each of these Christian neighbours shall be fined 30 zloty.

This was the foundation of Polish Jewry, whose history has since been so varied and so tragic.

It was following this period of intense persecution that the Ghetto system was established. The original establishment of the Ghetto carried with it peculiar privileges. It was an area where the Jews could live unmolested from the attacks of their fellow-citizens. They paid their dues to the Government, they carried on their trade, and the Government saw that they remained undisturbed.

At a time when Europe was divided up into tiny principalities, the power of international co-opera-

tion, which the Jews naturally possessed, was obviously a great advantage in trade and commerce. Many kings and princes established Ghettos and encouraged Jews to settle there for purely economic reasons. It must be here noted in parenthesis that a curious inversion took place. Under the Jewish legal system, the taking of interest from Jews was forbidden. But it was permitted to take interest from non-Jews, who were, of course, pagans at the time the law was made. This provision was necessary as it is not possible to do business with those who take interest from you if you do not charge interest on your side. The prohibition, therefore, referred only to inter-Jewish transactions. This prohibition had passed by the teaching of the Apostles into the Christian faith. The Canon Law forbade the taking of interest, or as it was in those days described, usury, but, of course, this fact did not apply to the Jewish population which was not subject to the Canon Law. Under the stress of persecution and the intense difficulty of supporting life, money-lending and banking became an increasingly important aspect of their economic life. This naturally only served to increase their unpopularity, but a drowning man clutches at a straw. This straw, in a miraculous way so constant in the annals of Israel,

turned out to be a fair-sized raft, and became the basis of our financial structure. The development of that system into the banking system of this country has had the ardent and earnest support of many good and charitable men, including the Quakers and those pillars of society who have created, and to-day support, the city of London.

It was, however, by no means an exclusive preserve for the Jewish population, for, after a couple of centuries, the profits of interest proved to be a stronger attraction than the reprobation of the Church.

The Jewish population having established themselves in the field of finance, found that it fulfilled the requirements of their peculiar position. It must not be forgotten that the Ghettos that were established were not necessarily of permanent duration. In one town after another, the local prince, governor, or bishop, found it necessary, or expedient, to expel the Jewish population. The expulsion was almost invariably accompanied by a confiscation of property. It therefore became a rule and tradition in Jewish life to have as little fixed property as possible—one can see the process in operation in modern times. An impoverished prince discovers a wandering or unsettled Jewish

community, he invites them to dwell under his protection, in return he receives a substantial payment, possibly considered as a loan, sometimes as an outright payment. The money was found, if not by the dislocated community themselves, by other communities who, imbued with the tradition of the maintenance of their people, found the money to ransom this community, as we are to-day finding the money to ransom the German Jews.

The Jews came and occupied the area allotted to them for their Ghetto, bring with them, over a period of time, their industrial and commercial connections which extended throughout the known world with the result that the Ghetto began to develop peculiar characteristics. In the first place, the multiplication of the Jewish community, due to this protection, gave rise to considerable overcrowding in an area which was not allowed to be extended. The medieval days were not distinguished by their attention to hygiene, and the Ghettos in the medieval ages were an extreme expression of the insanitary nature of contemporary conditions. But, in addition to this, they were the business centre of the town. Land values rose in their neighbourhood. The site value became like the site value of the city of London

—a matter of interest to those in power. The old process of killing the goose which laid the golden egg was cheerfully repeated in order to obtain the profit of the site values.

To despoil the Jews, and to fulfil the behest of the Church, the Jews were frequently expelled and only allowed to depart with their lives upon the payment of large sums of money. Sometimes this was achieved by arousing the hatred and blood-lust of the crowd against them, by spreading the 'Blood Libel' at Easter-time, and by other methods of the same sort; sometimes it was done by direct action of the prince, but as a rule the potentate, civil or clerical, took good care to get the mob on his side with the help of the promise of some free killing and looting. It was therefore natural that the Jews should confine their activities to that type of commercial transaction which made their possessions easily movable. A bond granted to each Jew was still a commercial transaction, and the Jew could still sue in the courts. While one prince might be expelling his Jews, another was in the process of taking them in, and therefore, although the bond might not be worth its face value, it was probably worth something. Apart from this, gold and silver and jewellery were the obvious possessions to acquire for a

people who were forbidden as a rule to own land.

It is not to be wondered at that as this system crystallized through the course of several centuries, up to the year 1800, a strange and unique psychology became an inheritance of the Jewish people. They lived under crowded and insanitary conditions, imbued with the desire of necessity for life which became not a physical but a religious necessity. They dreamed of emancipation; they dreamed of Messiah. There is a long history of pseudo-Messiahs which makes the most interesting study, which is entirely unknown to the greater part of the non-Jewish world. They became a people who lived in the head and the heart. They were deprived of all the normal stimuli of mankind. They became imbued with dreams and visions which the ordinary rugged European would consider absurd. The tradition of the miracle has always been a part of the Jewish character and mentality. The Biblical miracles, both in the Old and New Testaments, are merely a tiny fragment of the long record of miracles recounted in the Talmudic scriptures. There is a humorous story which is, in a way, so pathetic as to be typical of the history of this period.

FROM ABRAHAM TO DISRAELI

It is recounted that the Jewish community of a certain town, which was ruled by a Bishop, was informed that its presence in the town was an offence to its religious character, and that it must go. The usual Jewish deputation was sent, and implored the Bishop to reconsider his decision. The Bishop, a man proud of his learning and dialectical powers, agreed to withhold his sentence upon certain conditions. The conditions were that one of the community should come and debate with him on the relative merits of their respective faiths and the depths of their religious learning, and that the first of the two contestants to admit that he did not know the answer to the other's question should at once be struck down by the official headsman, who should stand between them.

The deputation took its sad story back to the community, and the Rabbi, who was a very learned man and much beloved, at once expressed his intention of accepting the challenge. But the community, not for a moment believing that there was any prospect of a fair trial of wits, implored their Rabbi not to risk his life on their behalf. The people assured him that they had complete faith in his power to argue better than the Bishop, but that whatever happened he would be certain

THY NEIGHBOUR

to be killed. They would then be expelled just the same, but deprived of the spiritual consolation which he was able to afford them. So eventually it was decided that the poorest and most ignorant member of the community should accept the challenge. The man picked upon was a miserable, mis-shapen little tailor, who had never been able to learn anything, and he was offered as a sacrifice, in the vain hope that some miracle would occur as the result of which the community might be spared. The little tailor was dressed up, and appeared in the great hall to confront the mighty and learned Bishop. He was petrified with fear, totally unaccustomed to his surroundings. The Bishop, to show his complete mastery of the situation and his utter contempt for his opponent, turned to the little tailor, and said, "You ask the first question." And the tailor, terrified out of his wits, uttered the only Hebrew words that he had ever been able to acquire, **אֲנִי יוֹדֵעַ**. The Bishop accurately translated them with the words, "I don't know," and was at once struck to the ground by his own henchman.

Another incident typical of the period was the destruction of the Jews of Villeneuve. In 1348 the Jewish population of this smiling township at the head of the Lake of Geneva was accused of having

poisoned the water and thus causing "The Black Death"—the plague which then ravished Europe. In the courtyard of the grim, yet beautiful, Castle of Chillon, which still guards the pass between lake and mountain, the whole community—men, women, and children—were burnt to death; while some Christian friends accused of complicity were executed by horrible torments.

These are conditions of affairs in which it is hard to imagine that a people would retain any normal semblance of humanity. If the Jewish people became hard or avaricious towards their Gentile neighbours, if Shylock and Fagan, the two types which great literature over a period of three centuries has offered for Gentile consumption, are true, it is hardly to be wondered at. What is perhaps even more remarkable is the fact that the Jews have withstood the enormous pressure of circumstances, and that they have made notable contributions to science and philosophy throughout the whole period.

Not only many chapters, but many volumes, could be written on the life of the Ghetto, but as it has been described by those who knew it and had experience of it at first-hand, it is idle for me, separated from it by several generations, to attempt to describe it. But it should never be forgotten

that there are none of us, whatever emancipation we may have achieved in the last century and a half, who have not our origins in those conditions.

The first real release from the Ghetto followed the French Revolution; the ideology of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity was extended to include the Jew. Napoleon himself, whose armies carried not only his personal domination, but much of the thought of the French Revolution with them, took a great interest in the Jewish question. He summoned a great Sanhedrin in 1807 and put to it twelve questions dealing with the attitude of the Jews to their fellow-citizens and their country. The unanimous answers of the Sanhedrin showed, in the words of Napoleon, that the Jews were not "*une nation dans la nation*".

There are, of course, many exceptions to general summary such as I am attempting to give. In England the position was somewhat different. The Jews in the early years suffered much under various English kings. They were sorely persecuted and tormented under King John and his successors, being eventually expelled by Edward I in 1290.

Many of the records of the expropriation of Jewish property are still in existence, and they make most interesting reading. There is a curious

case in the records of the Spanish Inquisition, where a baptized Jew was accused of reverting to his ancient practices. A reversion on his own confession is shown to have happened in Bristol, of all places, somewhere about 1500. Thus there is the evidence of the fact that there was a secret Jewish community in England at that time, who handed on their tradition by word of mouth. It was Cromwell the Protector who, in fact, permitted the return of the Jews to this country. He received a deputation of Sephardi Jews from Amsterdam, the descendants of those who had been expelled from Spain, and permitted them to settle in this country and form their own congregation. This they proceeded to do, and the descendants of these men are still to be found in the Anglo-Jewish community.

Later, in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, Ashkenazi Jews from Germany and Holland began to arrive, whilst after the pogroms of the 1880's it was chiefly the East European Jews who came in. Of the achievements of these English Jews in the social and political life of England, there is no space to do more than recall a few names:

Ricardo, the economist; Dr. Barnardo, the founder of Barnardo's Home; the Rothschilds and

THY NEIGHBOUR

Ernest Cassel in finance; Disraeli, Reading, Montagu, Herbert Samuel, and my late father, in politics; Reading and Jessel, in law; Alexander, in philosophy; Bearsted, Hirst, and Ludwig Mond in industry.

Meldola, in science; Sir Isaac Isaacs, General Sir John Monash, in the Empire; Mendoza, boxing champion of England; H. M. Abrahams, the runner, and Israel Zangwill, Guedalla and Siegfried Sassoon in literature.

The period of liberation which followed Napoleon was not long-lived. On the Continent several attempts to return to the old system were made, but the short respite that had been given had allowed such scope, that a number of individuals had been able so to prove their worth in different countries, that the total emancipation of these oppressed people was continued. The history of Jewish emancipation is that of a prolonged and painful struggle. Its accomplishment throughout Europe gave rise to an entirely new theory among the Jewish communities of Europe.

In such countries as France, Germany, England, Italy, Holland, and Austria, where the total number of Jews was less than two per cent of the population, and where the intellectual standard of the Jewish community was extremely

high, the theory began to be enunciated that the true solution of the Jewish problem was that, with the advent of religious liberty, the Jew, born in any given country, was by law a citizen of that country. It was stated that his origins were no more mixed than the origins of other citizens of that country, and that whatever his religious beliefs might be, he could be assimilated into the population: the true destiny of Jewry was to be assimilated, and being so assimilated to be a force for peace, for international co-operation, for the unity and brotherhood of mankind, and that this following of the international ideology of the nineteenth century was to be their true destiny. It was advocated that they should abandon all their conceptions of being an individual people; that they should retain the line of their spiritual monotheism, and standing by this, should adopt a modified and up-to-date form of their religious performance. They should set an example to the world of citizenship, of charity, and of purity. There was a considerable period of time in which this appeared to be practicable. It was a humane era, which tolerated this sound and comfortable theory, far too comfortable to be permanently true for the Jews.

Russia, lagging behind the times, did not live

THY NEIGHBOUR

up to the general European standard. The barbaric customs of the ancient Tartar seemed to survive in the later half of the nineteenth century. Lecky wrote of it:

The Russian persecution stands in some degree apart from other forms of the anti-semitic movement, both on account of its unparalleled magnitude and ferocity, and also because it is the direct act of a Government deliberately, systematically, remorselessly seeking to reduce to utter misery millions of its own subjects.

To-day this might easily be written of Germany, whilst the Jews are better treated in Russia. How long for? People say it will one day be better in Germany! But are we to be for ever the shuttlecock of nations, the fly whose wings and legs are always to be torn off whenever human beings break out in blood-lust? The pogroms of Russia shocked the world. Well they might. I have described the dry or the cold pogrom of modern Germany, but it is well to realise the deliberation of the "bloody" pogroms of Russia. The following account by H. Sacher was written in 1906:

What is a pogrom? Better than any abstract definition is a concrete record taken haphazard of an actual pogrom. Orscha is a town of 14,000

inhabitants, half of them Jews. On October 18th, 1905, the news of the proclamation of the Constitution reached Orscha. On the 19th the general strike stopped; Jew and Christian embraced; the houses were hung with flags, a service of thanksgiving was held; processions filled the streets. In the evening the Mohilev police officer Misgaib entered the town, and the rumour ran around that a patriotic demonstration was to take place and the Jews to be beaten. On the 20th, drunken men gathered to take the official's orders. On the morning of the 21st, the peasants entered the town armed with axes and guns. "The village authorities have sent us; whoever does not come will be punished. We are to do whatever is ordered." At one o'clock, a priest exhorted the crowds of the faithful to purge their city of the aliens, and the cry arose, "Long live absolutism! Down with the mayor, who has sold the town to the Jews!" The first murders followed. The house of a rich Jew was stormed. Without, the soldiers fired, a priest held service, and a band played the national anthem; while within, eight men, women and children were tortured to death. The appetite was only whetted. At six o'clock the peasants begged the police for more orders, more work. They were told to wait till daylight; the darkness might encourage the Jews to resist. On the same day twelve Jewish youths came from Shklov to help their brethren. They were met at the station and murdered, and for seven hours every man that passed mutilated

THY NEIGHBOUR

or insulted their dead bodies. The massacre became general. The 23rd was given up to plunder. At midday the Vice-Governor spoke to the crowds. "Children, it is enough. You have had three days' amusement, now go home and sing *God Save the Tsar!*" The pogrom at Orscha was typical of the 690 greater and lesser pogroms which took place that October.

I once sat next to the wife of a Bishop who comforted herself as to the fate of the Jews because she said, "One knew why they suffered it". Those who share her view and are prepared to charge God with the deliberate intention of these horrors and consequently to acquit the human race, must have a strange view of their religion. I cannot believe that there are many who, on reflection, share that view, but one of the most miserable circumstances in regard to all these matters is the ignorance with which they are surrounded.

This was the period of the great movement to America, and the continual migration of Jews from the area affected, i.e. from what is now Russia, Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, Esthonia, and Roumania, provided some escape from the horrors of the Tsarist régime. But the anti-semitic policy did not abate. The Ghetto system remained in force, and

endless restrictive legislation against the Jewish community persisted, coupled with occasional slaughtering to suit Government policy.

Russia is an example of an empire that had the habit of slaughtering Jews, and we can go back in our history, as observed at the beginning of this chapter, and find that things have not changed. The Jews were slaughtered in Egypt; the Jews were slaughtered by the hordes of Babylon, and were made exiles and captives. Their words still ring out in their anguish throughout the churches of the world, "By the waters of Babylon we sat down and wept, when we remembered thee, O Zion". The Jews were slaughtered by the Assyrians, by the Greeks and by the Roman pagans. They were equally slaughtered by the Christian Crusaders: they were oppressed throughout European history, either by the Church or by the State. They were persecuted by the Russians, who were looked upon as a backward people: to-day they are persecuted by the Germans, who are looked upon as an advanced people. To the Gentile there may appear to be excellent reasons *for all of these disasters—but the Jew must be* excused if he sees it all in a different light. To him it is merely another persecution; whether the grounds are religious or racial makes but little

difference. He has seen empires rise and fall, and most of them have persecuted him.

There is a little-known passage in Disraeli's book on Lord George Bentinck, in which he deals with his views on the Jewish question. It occurs in the twenty-fourth chapter. While the greater part of this chapter deals with the question of Jews and Christianity, and deplores the fact that the Jews as a people have not adopted the Christian faith, the following passage stands by itself as an exposition of the facts of the history of our people :

The world has by this time discovered that it is impossible to destroy the Jews. The attempt to extirpate them has been made under the most favourable auspices and on the largest scale ; the most considerable means that man could command have been pertinaciously applied to this object for the longest period of recorded time. Egyptian pharaohs, Assyrian kings, Roman emperors, Scandinavian crusaders, Gothic princes, and Holy Inquisitors, have alike devoted their energies to the fulfilment of this common purpose. Expatriation, exile, captivity, confiscation, torture on the most ingenious and massacre on the most extensive scale, a curious system of degrading customs and debasing laws which would have broken the heart of any other people, have been tried, and in vain. The Jews, after all this havoc, are probably more numerous at this date than they were during the reign of

FROM ABRAHAM TO DISRAELI

Solomon the Wise, are found in all lands, and fortunately prospering in most. All of which proves that it is in vain for man to attempt to baffle the inexorable laws of Nature which has decreed that a superior race shall never be destroyed or absorbed by an inferior.

CHAPTER III

Zionism

Exiled and dispersed, reviled and persecuted, oppressed and suffering, often denied the commonest rights of humanity and still more often made the victim of ruthless fanaticism, and bigoted prejudice, the Jews are divinely preserved for a purpose worthy of a God!

ST. JEROME (*Fourth Century*)

IF Disraeli's thesis that it is impossible to destroy the Jews be accepted, as I think it must be by every reasonable man, the problem then arises what is to become of them. It can with justice be held that this is a world problem; on the other hand, Jews with any pride and vision not unnaturally take the view that this is essentially a Jewish problem, that it is for them to present a solution to the world and to implement the policy that this solution demands.

There have been, at different times, different views as to the right solution. There have been movements which held that the Jew born in any given country, as a citizen of that country, was no different from other citizens save in the matter of

ZIONISM

faith, and that as each man is entitled to worship God in his own way, the Jew should be as free and as privileged as anyone else. According to this view it should be the aim of the Jew to divest himself of his Jewishness, to assimilate the characteristics of the land of his birth and to perform the function among the nations of the world of bringing them together in peace and amity, constituting thus an international bond comparable to that great international organization, the Catholic Church.

People have tried to reconcile this conception with the prophecies in regard to the return to Zion. There were periods when it was held that Zion was merely symbolic, and that some other place was now to the Jews what the Zion of the Bible seemed to be to the prophets. There was a time when Zion was supposed to be in Spain, there was a time when it was supposed to be in Russia; there was even a time when it was supposed to be in New York!

All these ingenious attempts to reconcile eternal truths with the circumstances of the moment are really rather absurd. There has been one simple, direct and plain belief which has inspired the Jewish people throughout the centuries of their dispersion, and which belief permeates the ritual of the Passover Festival. This anniversary of the

THY NEIGHBOUR

great liberation from Egypt, on which the existence of our people is so truly based, finishes with a hope that has been proclaimed for centuries past, the toast of "Next year, in Jerusalem". Throughout all times and in all lands the idea of the return to Palestine has been a main theme in the minds of Jewish thinkers.

There has never been a country and never a century in which a Zionist movement of some sort has not existed. The Hebraic mind turns naturally to the fantastic and the miraculous, and all sorts of explanations have been offered as to why God delayed so long in accomplishing the promised return of His people. There is a long history of false prophets who attempted to bring about such a return and of the humiliation which their failure brought on the thousands who followed them. But belief in the return was strongest in those places where Jewish life was strongest, that was in south-eastern Europe and Russia. It was here that in reversal of the general Liberal policy of the 1840's and 1850's, punitive laws and physical violence against the Jews became strongest under the Tsarist régime. And here in like measure the embers of the ancient fire of Zionism glowed most fiercely. The intellectual members of the Jewish community of those parts, cut off from surround-

ZIONISM

ing humanity, used to discuss among themselves all the problems that surrounded the liberation of the people and the return to the Holy Land. Much was said and much was written on this question, but little in fact was done.

The reasons for this lack of action are quite clear. In the first place the Jews of the areas who suffered most were numerous and poor, without influence, without power, and with but little knowledge of the world. The Western Jews, those of France, Austria, Holland, England, Germany, and Italy, were, on the whole, well situated, better off, free—or becoming free—enjoying the benefits of a great movement of emancipation which was then sweeping Europe. In spite of these difficulties various small groups from Eastern Europe managed to get to Palestine and to found colonies for the cultivation of their historic land.

It must not be imagined that during the whole of this period, from the destruction of the Temple to the present day, there were no Jews in Palestine. There was a fair-sized settlement until Christian zeal wiped them out during the first Crusade. Later, under the Moslem régime, a certain Jewish population once more grew up. It was a tradition among highly orthodox Jews to send their aged people to Palestine so that they might end their

THY NEIGHBOUR

days and be buried there. These people passed their years in praying for the Jewry of the Diaspora and in particular for their benefactors. There were some thousands of these old people in the holy cities of Jerusalem, Safed, Tiberias, and Hebron. In addition, there were religious schools of great importance which had existed since the Middle Ages, both in Safed and Tiberias.

But the return to the Land as such was of quite a different nature, and during the latter half of the nineteenth century tiny colonies sprang up and commenced to struggle against the most bitter and adverse conditions. Matters continued in this way until 1894, when Europe was disturbed by that extraordinary bombshell, the Dreyfus case.

It will be remembered that Colonel Dreyfus, a French staff officer of Jewish faith and extraction, was wrongly accused of having acted as a spy in the pay of the German Government. The history of his trial and conviction, of the eventual suicide of the infamous Captain Henry, one of his principal accusers, of his two re-trials and eventual acquittal and reinstatement, are still within living memory. At the time of his trial there arose throughout France a tremendous anti-semitic outcry. His cause was taken up by famous advocates, powerful orators and eminent writers. The great

ZIONISM

Zola, Clemenceau, Jaurès, and many others embraced his cause and fought for him. On the other side the whole weight of organized society, backed by the active power of the French Government, was centred on maintaining the guilt of Dreyfus and the infamy of the Jewish people.

Among the multitude of journalists who were sent by the leading papers of Europe as special correspondents to report this remarkable case was Theodor Herzl, a man in his late thirties, who came from Vienna to represent the *Neue Freie Presse*. He was extremely well-connected in Austrian literary and journalistic circles, he occupied a high position on the editorial staff of his paper and had a brilliant future before him. He was of Jewish extraction, of fine appearance and impressive bearing, but of the most assimilated type, having played no part in the Jewish community of Vienna, and taken no interest in its affairs.

As the case proceeded upon its course, and as the fearful injustice of the methods employed became more and more apparent to outside observers, Herzl was overwhelmed and obsessed by the position of this solitary Jew, opposed by all the might and power of Government position and privilege, and used even by some of his defenders

THY NEIGHBOUR

more as a pawn in the general political game of France than as a human being.

Herzl began to see in Dreyfus a symbol of the whole Jewish people, surrounded on all sides by hatred and malice and used as a catspaw by both parties in order to annoy each other. That he pondered deeply on this problem and its implications is clear from the opening paragraphs of his celebrated diary, in which he recorded the remarkable events of the subsequent years.

He seems to have become obsessed with a vision of a liberated people possessing their own land, since only by that means could the people regain its moral and spiritual heritage, and the respect of the other nations. He began to write in this strain and to develop the concept of auto-emancipation, first enunciated by the great Jewish thinker, Leo Pinsker, in 1882, where was put forward the idea that the liberation of Jewry must come from within itself, that it could not be imposed from outside. He soon came in contact with the Zionist thinkers of his time and joined forces with them as supplying the only practicable, and the only ideal solution of this great problem.

From now on Herzl became inspired with the sacred enthusiasm for a great cause. He abandoned, before he was forty, all those normal objec-

ZIONISM

tives of life which are attractive to a man in his station. His lucrative position, his social existence, in one of the most cultured and attractive capitals of Europe, were all forsaken in the pursuit of his mighty objective. The history of his wanderings and of his interviews, of the disciples he made and of the converts he obtained, fill two large volumes of his own personal diaries, which were published shortly after his death.

Through chance friendships and acquaintances he managed to lay his case before one of the leading members of the Royal House of Baden, and to obtain his qualified support for the main outline of his scheme. On this slender foundation he proceeded to interview the leading members of various Governments. His energy, his high intellectual attainments—above all, his selfless spiritual passion—rapidly made him the acknowledged leader of the international Zionist movement, and enabled him to bring the policy of Zionism before the statesmen of Europe, at any rate as a theoretical proposal. He held long conversations with the Pope, the Sultan of Turkey, the British Colonial Secretary, Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, and with many other notables.

He saw that if it were possible to mobilize the capital of Jewry, dispersed through many lands,

THY NEIGHBOUR

or even a small proportion of it, the acquisition of the barren territory of Palestine from the Turkish Government, impoverished as it then was, need not be beyond the reach of practical politics. With this in view, he proceeded to approach the most wealthy leading members of the Jewish community. One of the most famous of his writings was his letter to the Rothschilds of Vienna. It is a remarkable and touching document, displaying an amazing penetration into the true values of human life and a great and real gift of prophecy. In this, and in other works, he points out that the Liberal Governments of Europe, so popular at that time and apparently so firmly established in the prosperity of those days, were not to last. They would fall, and they would be replaced by tyrants, either royal or popular, who would probably be worse than the aristocratic predecessors of the Parliamentary Governments. It has taken less than forty years for this prophecy to come true.

He described to the House of Rothschild the weakness of its own position. He pointed out to them how his policy would strengthen the foundations of the "Tower" that they were building to the skies. In a great passage he describes how the ultimate and inevitable fall of this "Tower" would spread wide ruin across the world. The

ZIONISM

commencement of the mighty economic depression of 1929-33, which was the parent of the Hitler régime in Germany, started with the collapse of the Credit Anstalt in Vienna and of the Viennese House of Rothschild. This letter met with but slight success. The great work that the French house of Rothschild did for Zionism will be told later.

In spite of all his converts and in spite of the good reception he was accorded by nearly all those whom he saw, Theodor Herzl began to realize that there was only one country that was ever likely to do anything practical in regard to this question, which combined in its character both the necessary idealism and the necessary capacity for action. That country was England. So he turned in the direction of London, and after a time made contact with Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, who was then Colonial Secretary in Mr. Balfour's administration. So much did he impress Joseph Chamberlain that the latter took up the question with the Cabinet and began to consider the Imperial and political aspects of the question.

It is necessary here to turn for a moment in our tracks in order to complete our story.

In 1897 Theodor Herzl summoned in Basle the first Zionist Congress. This was the first time in

the history of the Exile that Jewry met collectively to decide on a common political programme. There came together men and women of prominence from all parts of the world, animated by a single idea—the redemption of Israel by the return to the soil of Palestine. It was a solemn moment when the Congress was opened. The delegates seemed to realize that they were participating in a scene that would go down in history. The whole proceedings were conducted in a tone of high expectancy. At one point, when the general harmony was threatened by differences of opinion, a venerable figure rose and exhorted the conference to raise with him their right hands and repeat aloud in Hebrew the verse, “If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget her cunning.” (Psalm cxxxvii.)

The Congress constituted itself the supreme governing body of the Zionist movement. It drew up a public declaration of its aims and ideals, since become known as the Basle Programme, the preamble of which runs: “The object of Zionism is to establish for the Jewish people a home in Palestine secured by public law.” A constitution was drawn up, contributions were levied for carrying on the work, and it was decided to hold congresses at regular intervals.

ZIONISM

In this way a surprised world learnt that Jewry was no longer content to remain a wanderer and an outcast among the nations, but that the Eternal People were making active preparations to return to the Land of their Fathers.

All the same, Congress was a body very different from that which Herzl had first conceived. The mighty men of Jewry were notably absent. Those who controlled the great wealth and did great things, those who occupied prominent political positions in their own countries, those who were engaged in the creative undertakings of the world at large, were too busy with their daily tasks to hear the new voice. So instead of a collection of powerful and influential individuals, inspired with a determination to redeem their people and their land, there met together a small band of powerless intellectuals, redeemed from what the cynic might have considered to be an absurd mediocrity by passionate enthusiasm and belief in what they were doing.

The second Zionist Congress met at Basle in 1898, and the third in 1899. With each meeting the movement grew in popular support and prestige. Important progress was made in England, where distinguished non-Jews became supporters of the ideal of the return to Zion.

THY NEIGHBOUR

The fourth Congress was held in London at the Queen's Hall, August 13th-16th, 1900. In his inaugural address Herzl said :

I feel there is no necessity for me to justify the holding of the Congress in London. England is one of the last remaining places on earth where there is freedom from Jewish hatred. Throughout the wide world there is but one spot left in which God's ancient people are not detested and persecuted. But from the fact that the Jews in this glorious land enjoy full freedom and complete human rights we must not allow ourselves to draw future conclusions. He would be a poor friend of the Jews in England, as well of the Jews who reside in other countries, who would advise the persecuted to flee hither. Our brethren here would tremble in their shoes if their position meant the attraction to these shores of our desperate brethren in other lands. Such an immigration would mean disaster equally for the Jews here, as for those who would come here. For the latter, with their miserable bundles, would bring with them that from which they flee—I mean anti-Semitism.

Mainly as a result of this Congress the British Government began to recognize the importance and validity of the Zionist movement. The Cabinet was willing to further Zionist aspirations, and in 1902 considered granting of the Sinai peninsula to the Jews with certain powers of self-gov-

ZIONISM

ernment. Owing to difficulties concerning Egypt, the negotiations broke down. An even more liberal offer was made the following year by Joseph Chamberlain on behalf of the British Government, when it proposed to grant a large area of land to the Zionists in what was then known as Uganda.

The offer of the British Government was generous and whole-hearted, yet it placed Herzl in a most difficult position and produced a serious split in the Zionist movement. The position of Herzl was clear enough: he believed that Israel would be redeemed only through a return to the soil, but that return must be in a land of their own. It was not sufficient for the Jew to live in a country where other people tilled the land, or even for him to acquire with increasing affluence agricultural estates in which he might take an enlightened interest. He believed in a mystical connection between the people and actual labour on the soil, and believed in it with all the fervent intensity of his passionate nature.

At the same time, while he had convinced many non-Jewish statesmen of the correctness of his main thesis, and whilst he had assumed the leadership of the Zionist movement, not one practical step had been taken towards the realization of his

project. Now he was offered a vast territory, fertile in character, and of a favourable climate, part of the great British Empire. He was offered this by the Prime Minister, Mr. Balfour, and by the Colonial Secretary, Mr. Joseph Chamberlain—in fact, by the British Government.

Uganda was not Palestine, but the latter was under the domination of the Turkish Government. In all his approaches to the Sublime Porte, Herzl had been faced not so much with a blank refusal as with a total incapacity to appreciate the reality of his proposals, or to give even an intelligent answer to his inquiries. He was faced not with an iron door which he might break down or cut through, but with a haze of confused and lackadaisical thinking which in fact was a much more substantial obstacle.

The offer of the British Government was like a blast of fresh air blowing away the fog of double dealing, intrigue and counter-intrigue. It is not to be wondered at that, confronted with all these disheartening difficulties, Herzl gratefully accepted the Uganda scheme and submitted it for ratification by Congress in 1903.

This was the main item of the agenda of the sixth Congress, and also of the seventh which met in 1905. The sixth Congress, where delegates from

ZIONISM

Russia formed an important section, met at a time when the Tsarist Government was embarking on an intensified policy of militant anti-Semitism. The first act of the drama was the infamous pogrom at Kishineff, Easter 1903, which lasted three days, the victims not being killed outright in order that the murderers might watch them writhe in their death agonies. Thereafter the policy of the Russian Government increased in its anti-semitic fervour. The agents of the Tsar would give to gangs of Cossack hooligans, known as the Black Hundreds, licence to pillage, murder, rape and rob the Jews and destroy their homesteads. The pogroms would last some three to four days, after which the military would step in to restore order. The object of this policy of persecution was to distract the attention of the populace from the domestic difficulties of the Government. These outbreaks reached a climax at Bialystock, in May 1906, when the regular troops helped the Black Hundreds and which in cruelty and atrocities surpassed all previous pogroms.

This was the atmosphere in which Russian Zionists were offered a haven of refuge in Uganda. One would have thought that they would have been only too glad to accept to escape from such a country whose Government had earned the repro-

bation of statesmen all over the world. Yet such was the attachment to the ideal of Palestine—Eretz Israel—that on their demand the sixth Congress temporized, and decided to send out a commission to Uganda to report on the suitability of the country, after first thanking the British Government for its magnanimous offer.

It is one of the miracles of history that the Russian delegates (led by a young chemist, Chaim Weizmann, among others), in spite of the appalling suffering they had to endure at home, had the strength of mind to stand out for their ideal—the People of Israel in the Land of Israel.

The Commission of Inquiry set out towards the end of 1904, and in May of the following year presented its report. The report was not very enthusiastic, and the seventh Congress, after prolonged and intense debate, decided not to embark on the Uganda adventure.

Yet it must not be thought that in this period colonization activity was at a standstill.

Baron Edmond de Rothschild, head of the Paris banking house, was not used to dealing with democratic bodies and proceeded as an individual to colonize Palestine. He sent his agents to the country. He acquired small pieces of territory and set up an organization to train and select settlers

ZIONISM

to be put on the land. He financed their early enterprises, gave them the benefit of the most expert agricultural advice, planted vineyards, founded a wine industry, and created a series of colonies, managed and financed by a Foundation Trust which he personally endowed. Throughout his life he continued in this admirable work and was at all times accessible to the leaders of the Zionist cause, while never himself entering the lists of the Zionist political controversy; always a figure in the background, he carried on his practical ideal of assisting and supporting wherever he had the opportunity.

After the rejection of the Uganda scheme, theoretical Zionism continued as a realm of intellectual activity during the ensuing years, and practical Zionism was confined to a very slow increase of existing tiny colonies and the development of the colonies founded by Baron Edmund de Rothschild.

Herzl, worn out by his terrific efforts and disappointed at the failure of his policy and its rejection by the Zionist Congress, which he himself had founded, died of a broken heart in 1904. He remains, and will remain, one of the most remarkable products of the Jewish people.

The 1905 Congress, as we have seen, broke

THY NEIGHBOUR

up in blank despair, with no constructive programme before it, split from end to end with violent factions and retaining nothing but an obscure idealism and belief that their salvation lay in one land, and in one land alone : Palestine, the land of their history and their destiny.

The young Weizmann returned to England as lecturer in Chemistry at Manchester University. In the English Zionist movement he was looked upon with the greatest disfavour, and for a long time was not even allowed to become a member of that body. But, during the 1906 election Mr. Balfour came to Manchester to defend his seat, and, while there, was curious to see in person this strange young man who had rejected the highly advantageous proposals of his Government. A short interview ensued which culminated in the following conversation recorded by Mrs. Dugdale in her *Life of Balfour* :

I began to sweat blood to make my meaning clear through my English. At the very end I made an effort, I had an idea. I said : " Mr. Balfour, if you were offered Paris instead of London, would you take it? Would you take Paris instead of London? " He looked surprised. He said : " But London is our own! " I said : " Jerusalem was our own when London was a marsh." He said : " That's true! " I did not see him again till 1916.

ZIONISM

This laid the foundations not only of a life-long friendship, but of a policy and a political programme which was to find expression in practical events so much sooner than the most sanguine observer could possibly have imagined at the time.

The years that followed produced nothing new in Zionist theory or practice. They were, in fact, a period of gestation of the seed which had been planted by Herzl in the ground which had been so deeply ploughed not only by that force and spirit, but by the leaders of the Tsarist régime.

Weizmann continued his work at Manchester. He gradually reassembled the despondent forces of the Congress about him: he patched up the peace with the English Zionist Federation; but so unfriendly was the atmosphere to the man who had rejected the magnificent proposals of the Colonial Office, that it was suggested to him about the year 1912 that he should leave Manchester and transfer his activities to Berlin, where he was assured a position suitable to his scientific attainments could be found for him. Attractive as this proposition appeared in many ways, not only because of the sympathetic character of the German Zionists to Weizmann, but also because of the

proximity of the great body of Zionist Jewry on the Continent, his whole instinct revolted against this easy course.

As a small boy he had written to his teacher in Russia that he believed that it was England and England alone which was destined to be the instrument of the salvation of Israel. That faith, based not only upon instinct but upon the clear intellectual concept of the essential characteristics of the British people, restrained him from a course which to a smaller man would have appeared obvious and attractive. So, isolated in Manchester and largely cut off not only from the warm-hearted Zionist enthusiasm of the Continent, but also to a large extent from the intellectual and moral support of the British Zionist movement, he continued his scientific work, and in the high development of his day-by-day duty, laid the foundation of the success of the main object of his life—the Jewish National Home. The outbreak of war in 1914 completed the destruction of the Zionist movement as a coherent entity. Divided throughout the countries of Europe, Jew faced Jew in the varied uniforms of the European nations with a patriotism and gallantry for which he has been given little credit.

Weizmann, specially qualified as a chemist, was

ZIONISM

rapidly called into the service of his country. He had long since become a British citizen, and was seconded from Manchester University to the Admiralty for special purposes. In the Admiralty he came once more into personal contact with Arthur Balfour, and had the opportunity of again discussing his main objective with that eminent philosopher and statesman. The history of this period is as romantic and as improbable as any of the chapters of Jewish history which precede it, including the period of Theodor Herzl. The full history can only be written when the private memoirs of Dr. Weizmann are finally published. But the main outline of the story, which is well known, is an essential part of our narrative. Great Britain, blockaded by the submarines of Germany, suffered from the shortage of many essential raw materials, and one of the most urgent and dire necessities was an adequate supply of acetone for the manufacture of the enormous quantities of cordite necessary for war purposes.

This was the field in which Weizmann's chemical genius was engaged, and he arrived at an entirely original solution of the problem by bacteriological means. The invention was of such immense importance to the country that the Prime Minister, Mr. Lloyd George, in the midst of his

THY NEIGHBOUR

vast activities, found time to go down to Dr. Weizmann's laboratories in order to see his work and personally thank him for his contribution in the great national emergency. And in thanking him, Mr. Lloyd George said, "You have done a great thing for us; is there anything we can do for you in return?" To which Dr. Weizmann gave the reply, "No, there is nothing you can do for me, but there is a great thing that you can do for my people."¹

In many incidents over many centuries, the act of the individual Jew forces upon the attention of power and authority the plea, the cry, for toleration and for freedom. Whether it be Esther and Ahasuerus, whether it be Moses and Pharaoh, or any of the other renowned individuals who have been faced with the same problem, the main outline of the story is identical—the service rendered in the hour of crisis, the opportunity to attract the notice of those who might help, and the plea, as always: "the Liberty of Israel and the Land of Israel".

In the months that followed Weizmann took up official negotiations with the British Government. Even in these circles Zionism was not entirely un-

¹ Mr. Lloyd George confirmed these facts in his speech in the House of Commons on June 19, 1936, during the debate on Palestine.

ZIONISM

known. It had been the subject of a memorandum presented to the Cabinet by one of its members, Sir Herbert Samuel, which curiously enough was met by determined opposition from the other Jewish member of the Cabinet, Mr. Edwin Montagu. And so the question had evaporated into the realms of sterile theory.

Of all the surprising transactions conducted by a Jew with a mighty Government, those are perhaps the most surprising. It might rightly and properly have been asked, and in fact it was very soon asked by the more precise and less enthusiastic officials, what exactly Dr. Weizmann represented. He was not the head of the Zionist movement of Great Britain, he had not the support of the prominent British Jews, and as with a war raging in between it was impossible for him to have any contact with European Jewry, he could hardly be said to represent them. But he did represent, in character, in spirit and in fact, the Jewish people, and so great and so obvious was the truth of this statement that it served as of more value than any number of resolutions passed by unanimous Congresses.

The culmination of these discussions was the celebrated Balfour Declaration, expressed in a letter signed by Lord Balfour to Lord Rothschild :

THY NEIGHBOUR

His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country. (1917.)

Apart altogether from the recognition of the eternal justice of the cause, it was a great stroke of statesmanship on behalf of the British people and the Allied Powers. It played its part in the U.S.A., and throughout the Jewish communities of the world. It was not received with universal approbation. There were many prosperous and important Jews in this country who saw no need for the redemption of a multitude of Jews in other countries at some indefinite date after the termination of the War. They held that it would be impossible to prognosticate the general shape of world conditions, and were both afraid that this policy might prejudice their position as British citizens, and also disturbed at the idea that an unknown chemist, whom most of them had never met, should presume to speak on behalf of the Jewish people. But this opposition, powerful enough as it

ZIONISM

was individually, was ineffectual against the obvious inspiration of a positive ideal.

The Balfour Declaration was followed by a mission by Dr. Weizmann, accompanied by a small band of friends (Dr. Eder, Leon Simon, Israel Sieff, Joseph Cowen, and Professor Sylvain Levi), to Palestine, as yet unconquered by Allenby's British Forces. The political officers attached to the Mission were Major Ormsby Gore (now Secretary of State for the Colonies), and Major James de Rothschild (now Member of Parliament for the Isle of Ely), who, following his father, Baron de Rothschild, has since played an important part in the furthering and direction of Zionist effort.

Their reception at headquarters was what might have been expected. Soldiers engaged upon the task of war have little time for obscure political theories, and although General Allenby had issued the members of his staff with copies of the Bible, with directions for the study of the military campaigns of Joshua from Biblical sources, he had never seriously believed that the result of his efforts might lead to the re-occupation of that land by its historic people, in spite of the fact that he had Zionists among his troops, recruited from all parts of the world. However, in the course of a

THY NEIGHBOUR

few days, Weizmann and Allenby came to understand each other, and struck up a friendship which lasted until the death of the latter. That great and memorable moment arrived when, at Allenby's invitation, Weizmann accompanied him into the city of Jerusalem, and here took place the ceremony which will surely go down in the annals of history, when Weizmann and his small devoted band laid the foundation-stone of the Hebrew University. It was an impressive ceremony. British troops were drawn up on parade; General Allenby was present in person. The appropriate speeches were made, punctuated continually by the noise of the surrounding batteries.

Allenby afterwards confessed to Weizmann that this action had had a real effect upon the morale of his troops. Those who have served with active forces in the field know how easily psychological reactions can sweep through a body of men. Allenby's depleted army, perched upon the hills round Jerusalem, with their backs to the desert that lies beyond Beersheba, were acutely conscious of their inability to advance, and of the dangers that lay in retreat. The obvious faith of this little band of Zionists, who could lay the foundation-stone of the University within a mile of the front line, went through the whole army like a flame,

ZIONISM

restored their belief, not only in themselves, but in the predestined certainty of their victory.

Between this date and the great scene when Lord Balfour, in the scarlet robes of Cambridge University, of which he was Chancellor, opened the Hebrew University in 1925, and delivered his inspiring oration to a crowd of enthusiasts upon the top of Mount Scopus, a long and arduous history of political struggle, of move and counter-move, and hope and frustration, had been enacted. From the Balfour Declaration to the ratification of the Mandate was a long cry. Many conflicting interests arose: not the least of these was the cry of the Arab politicians for an independent state. But the main foundation of the concept of the Balfour Declaration never varied, and during the course of the worrying years of negotiation, the League of Nations came into being, the Mandate system was conceived and put into practice, and ultimately the British Government accepted the League of Nations mandate for Palestine in the preamble of which was embodied the Balfour Declaration. And so concluded another chapter of that history of infinite romance and infinite tragedy.

As Europe settled down to deal with the urgent problems of reconstruction following on the hor-

THY NEIGHBOUR

rors of war, the small body of Zionists gathered their forces to commence the task which lay before them. The opportunity was great, the prospects were doubtful. There could be no question of the existence of considerable hostility among the Arab inhabitants, a hostility born of the disappointment of the ruling families of the Arab population of Palestine in their hopes of the possibilities which they had visualized of achieving direct and immediate power and all that goes with it.

The capacity for these traditional political leaders to foment trouble among the peasant population was well known. The official British administration was largely composed of those individuals who, having nothing in particular to do after the War, were prepared to accept the opportunity of Colonial Administration Services rather than embark afresh upon the adventure of civilian life. With a few notable exceptions, they were not particularly well disposed towards the obvious complications which would follow the experiment of settling a new community in the land. Zionist Jewry was impoverished and dispersed, lacking cohesion. Direction from above had been given, but it remained to be seen whether the inspiration of the ideal would be powerful enough to enable it

ZIONISM

to gather itself together for the task, in time to grasp the opportunity: while the doors of Palestine stayed wide open, and before the inexorable forces of fate closed them, perhaps for centuries to come.

CHAPTER IV

Zionism in Practice

The vineyards of Israel have ceased to exist, but the eternal Law enjoins the children of Israel still to celebrate the vintage. A race that persists in celebrating their vintage, although they have no fruits to gather, will regain their vineyards.

BENJAMIN DISRAELI (1846)

THE subsequent history of Palestine amply demonstrates the manner in which the challenge of the conditions existing in 1919 was accepted by Zionist Jewry. But the mere record of the physical and economic achievements, and of the development of the country, can create no impression of the spirit which has actuated the movement.

At the very outset of our consideration of practical Zionism it is interesting to observe that the migration to Palestine, and the development there of colonies and cities, has taken place during a period when migration all over the world has been at a standstill, and when the British Empire has been totally unable to evolve any positive method of colonization or to achieve any practical

ZIONISM IN PRACTICE

common policy of developing its great area, amounting to a quarter of the whole world.

It is instructive to compare the position of the British Empire with that of Palestine, which is no larger than Wales. At the heart of the Empire is the city of London, with its vast financial resources. From here, along the common ties of blood and race, radiate the arteries of material and spiritual assistance to the farthest corners of the Dominions, with their millions and millions of fertile acres, rich both above and below the ground. United by the common bond of the Crown, served by the power of the great Imperial Press, speaking with one tongue to the most united and dominant people to-day, with all the glittering prizes that such an Empire can offer, yet in the matter of emigration and land settlement they have failed to achieve as much as has been done in Palestine by a small band of relatively powerless idealists with the support of a mass of impoverished and oppressed Jews in the Exile. The reason for this strange paradox is not far to seek. The huge machinery of Empire consists, in any final analysis, of the men and women who inherit it, and the spirit with which they are imbued dictates the course of action of this machinery. It has been a remarkable fact that, in spite of great efforts on

the part of many distinguished Imperialists, no one has succeeded in arousing in the British Empire as a whole an ideal for Imperial Development, in spite of the obvious necessity for this action. The Zionists, on the other hand, with all their disadvantages, have been imbued with a tremendous ideal, and that ideal has been strengthened and enforced by the conditions in which the great masses of Jewry have been forced to live throughout Europe during the past decade.

But conditions of oppression alone would not have produced the spirit necessary to achieve success in Palestine. The effects of the oppression of a minority can take a variety of forms, but the constructive work in Palestine which has been achieved could only be based upon the idealism of those who have, in fact, done the work. It is always difficult to convey the spirit of another country or another place to those who have never visited it, and who do not know it. I have had the personal experience of work in the Colonies, as a farmer in Rhodesia, after the War. I have found it, on the whole, impossible to convey to my friends in England the spirit of the population of that country, or the atmosphere of that life. To convey the atmosphere of Palestine is infinitely more difficult. The reader who has followed me through the

previous chapters will, at any rate, understand the foundations of Zionist emotion, and will also realize the basic and driving necessity for Eretz Israel. But I doubt if any words of mine could convey just what Eretz Israel really means to a Jew. Eretz Israel is the Hebrew for the land of Israel. In those two words have become enshrined all the hopes and all the passions of a multitude of suffering people.

If one makes a voyage across the Mediterranean on a cruise that touches Palestine, one will probably find that somewhere on the boat there is a group of Zionists leaving Europe for good, to start upon a new life. They will not be among the first-class passengers, although there you may find some prominent Zionists, Jewish men of business, or Jewish tourists of varying degrees of enthusiasm. But somewhere, either in the third-class or in the steerage, you will find a group of enraptured people, who are being liberated from Hell and offered Heaven. To go among them and talk to them is a remarkable experience. You will discover every facet of human approach to the problems of migration, all that is involved in the uprooting of an old way of life and the planting of a new one. You will find all the fears and all the hopes, all the joys and all the regrets, expressed.

THY NEIGHBOUR

Even to those that are being released from so much that man would naturally fear and avoid, there is a pang of parting with relatives, with friends, with the established order of life, however distasteful or however horrible. As the voyage progresses and this aspect diminishes, the spirit of rebirth dominates the psychology, not only of the individual, but of the group. It is a great, indeed almost a holy, experience to observe the effect on these people that is produced as day by day they are brought nearer to their ancient land. All of their religious traditions, much of their culture and their habits, and all their innate human and romantic feeling, is centred, and has been centred for centuries, in Eretz Israel.

In the dark Ghettos, their grandfathers and their fathers, they themselves have read and talked, have sung songs about the towns, the mountains, and the seas, which they have never seen. Mount Carmel, Galilee, the Jordan, and above all Jerusalem itself, are familiar dreams, and now they are on the threshold of seeing these dreams turn to reality. On deck at night, under the warm Mediterranean skies, you will hear them chanting traditional songs of their ancient land; or discussing, with their accustomed intensity, all the aspects of the vast problem that confronts

ZIONISM IN PRACTICE

them and their people. When the great moment finally arrives, and they step ashore and feel for the first time Eretz Israel beneath their feet, they experience a profound emotion, a sublimation of spiritual and physical contact.

It is idle to try and express what this means in words. It is the result, not of the life history of a man, but of a history 4000 years old, of tragedy and joy, of triumph and of misery. It might be argued that this emotion is illogical, it might be argued that it is stupid, it might be argued that it is totally unworthy of those who are held to be one of the most intelligent ethnic groups in the world. But it is human, and when its realization comes about in any individual there is nothing so natural and so simple. It is this spirit which has inspired the devotion which the pioneers of Zionism have displayed in their constructive work.

When, following the Balfour Declaration, the Mandate was finally granted to Britain in 1922, there were already small groups of colonies in existence in Palestine, coupled with a certain religious population, which played a negligible part in the life of the country. The task of the Zionist leaders between the time of the Balfour Declaration and the acceptance of the Mandate had been

by no means an easy one. The first reaction to the Balfour Declaration by the Jewish communities was dramatic to a degree. They believed that the hour of their salvation had come, and that everything from now on would be straightforward and easy; that a Jewish state which would protect their interests and look after them as individuals was, to all intents and purposes, already in being. There are cases where it is recorded that a community met and appointed councils responsible to the Jewish Government in Palestine, who would have some official duties to fulfil, and would be in a position to make representations on their behalf to the governments and local authorities where they lived. This merely serves as an example of the spirit which permeated the Jewish world outside the confines of a more highly emancipated and assimilated section. It can well be imagined that what happened after served as a series of shocks and cold douches to this enthusiasm. It was soon apparent that the claims of the existing Arab population entirely ruled out any question of immediately setting up a Jewish state. It was clear that the proposed mandatory power had no intention of approaching the problem from this wholly one-sided aspect. Long negotiations took place, which were eventually embodied in the

ZIONISM IN PRACTICE

celebrated Mandatory Document (included as an appendix to this book at pages 265-278).

The Arabs put forward their claims; someone was supposed to have promised Palestine to them as an independent kingdom. While this was never established, and has, indeed, been repeatedly denied by the British Government, it served as sufficient grounds for a considerable agitation by the ruling Effendi class in Palestine. In 1920, in fact, there was an Arab rising against the established authority in which many Jewish lives were lost, and a great deal of damage was done. It came as a severe shock to the masses of Jewry who were accustomed to associate such incidents with carefully concealed and equally carefully directed Government policy. This, quite apart from the fact that it firmly implanted in their minds the idea that they could not depend upon the safety of life in their new country. It was very hard for them to understand how the British Empire (having the tremendous power and weight which they, in their imagination, imputed to it) could allow such incidents, if there were not the intention that they should occur. These and many other factors threw grave doubts in their minds as to whether Great Britain was serious in its intentions when it accepted the Mandate.

THY NEIGHBOUR

Dr. Weizmann and his friends, who had, naturally, a far more balanced view both of British intentions and of the limitations of the British capacity to make everything occur exactly as they would like it, were hard put to convince the multitude of the true facts of the situation. When the same thing occurred again in 1921, the difficulties of the situation were indeed multiplied. So much so, that it required immense faith even for the very leaders to believe that it was worth while going on with the attempt.

Zionist aspirations had already received a serious check during the restless years immediately after the War, when several minor wars were in progress, and many European states tottered on the verge of disaster. A relatively unimportant body of Arabs emerged from the regions of Hejaz, in Central Arabia, and proceeded to march through Transjordan towards Syria, with the avowed object of turning out the French who were occupying that country, at a time when their Mandate from the League of Nations had not yet been granted. The British Government, embroiled in Ireland, and engaged in the extraordinarily difficult task of demobilization, had taken a decision that in no circumstances whatever were troops to be employed beyond the Jordan. It was clear that to

ZIONISM IN PRACTICE

neglect this advance towards Syria, futile as it indeed was, would present the French Government, not only with the opportunity, but the necessity of sending a force from Syria to Transjordan to disperse this raid before it reached their frontiers. To have allowed this to occur would have given the French Forces ample justification for remaining in Transjordan, which had been used as a base against them. It was, on the whole, considered better policy to buy off the raiders by allowing them to settle where they were, and by offering the Emir the opportunity of ruling the territory of Transjordan, since he seemed to desire territory to rule. This was therefore arranged under the aegis and protection of the British Government, in preference to the certainty of a French occupation.

Such an arrangement was only concluded under the stress of events, and would never have been contemplated in normal times. In fact, it had always been intended, and was originally decided, to include Transjordan with Palestine and to make it open to Jewish immigration. The later decision had the unfortunate effect of creating a totally unnatural division across the historic territory which was supposed to be subject to the Mandate for the Jewish National Home.

Jewry, from the earliest days of Moses and

THY NEIGHBOUR

Joshua, had been settled on both sides of the Jordan, and this truncated territory left an area for development which clearly presented problems altogether different and more intense than those contemplated by Zionists at any period heretofore. It is, however, to the eternal honour of the rank and file of the movement, as well as of its leaders, that they pulled themselves together under these successive blows, and totally ignoring all the logical arguments to the effect that the steps that had been taken destroyed any serious prospect of their achieving their objective, proceeded to abandon all theoretical speculation and got down to the hard and practical task of developing the land.

Palestine had suffered from centuries of neglect under Turkish rule. The country had, in early times, supported a very large population. It is recorded that over a million Jews died during the campaign of Titus, and that in the same period there were eleven "cities" on the shores of Galilee. Palestine at the end of the Great War was supporting, on an extremely low standard of living, a population of some 500,000 Arabs. The cities had vanished: Haifa was a fishing village, Jaffa no better; Jerusalem, though picturesque, was small and insanitary, and apart from the military railway that had been built from Egypt to Haifa,

ZIONISM IN PRACTICE

there were little or no signs of civilization. The land once flowing with milk and honey, a strip of emerald green inlaid along the burning gold of the arid desert, had, under centuries of Turkish misrule and neglect, degenerated into a region of alternating scrub and swamp. The cedars of Lebanon were cut down, the roses of Sharon and the lilies-of-the-valley had long withered away.

Pathetic in its defloration stood the Plain of Esdraelon, a monument of how Nature revenges herself on those who abuse her. Once a granary of the Near East, the Valley of Jezreel, as it was formerly known, had turned into a noisome and deserted swamp, inhabited with but a few miserable and disease-ridden Arabs. The Valley, for thousands of years, had been one of the historic highways of the world. Forming as it did the connecting link between Egypt and Asia Minor, all of the great armies and the great migrations of the past were forced to come through it. The soil of the plain had been fertilized by the blood of countless warriors of antiquity.

Here, led by the prophetess Deborah, and by their chieftain Barak, did the Israelites triumph over their oppressor the King of the Canaanites, whose general, Sisera, came against them with nine

hundred chariots of iron. But "the stars in their courses fought against Sisera", and he fled to the north, to meet his death at the hands of Jael. Still more crushing was the victory that Gideon and his band of three hundred men won over the Midianites, who, as is related in the Book of Judges, were scattered at the foot of Mount Gilboa and fled towards Jordan with Gideon hot on their heels. "And Gideon came to Jordan, and passed over, he, and the three hundred that were with him, faint yet pursuing." But if Israel tasted the joys of victory in the Valley, it also was to know the bitterness of defeat. Saul, coming forth to give battle against the Philistines, met his death here, together with his three sons. Well might David sing, "The beauty of Israel is slain upon thy high places: how are the mighty fallen! . . . Ye mountains of Gilboa, let there be no dew, neither let there be rain upon you, nor fields of offerings."

The Valley echoed the lamentations of Israel going forth to its captivity in Babylon, and resounded to its cries of joy on its return. In an unending procession the captains and the kings passed through—the armies of Alexander the Great, the Pharaohs, the Assyrians, the Caesars, the Saracens, Crusaders, and the Turks. Finally, with his mission

ZIONISM IN PRACTICE

of redemption for Israel, came Allenby and his gallant troops.

When this historic spot was visited in 1920 by Sir Herbert Samuel, first High Commissioner for Palestine, he found that "four or five squalid Arab villages, long distances apart from one another, could be seen on the summits of low hills here and there. The rest of the country was uninhabited. There was not a house, not a tree. Along the branch of the Hejaz railway an occasional train stopped at a deserted station. A great part of the soil was in the ownership of absentee Syrian landlords. The river Kishon, which flows through the Valley, and the many springs which feed it from the hillsides, had been allowed to form a series of swamps and marshes, and as a consequence the country was infested with malaria. Besides, public security had been so bad under the former régime that any settled agriculture was in any case almost impossible." And this plain was once called "the Garden of Palestine"! From the earliest days of organized Zionism attempts were made to reclaim and colonize the Valley of Jezreel, or, as they now termed it, "The Emek" (Emek being the Hebrew for Valley). To these devoted souls was appointed the task of once more realizing the promise implicit in the Valley's name—"Jezreel" signifies

THY NEIGHBOUR

"Where God will sow". The task was one that would have daunted all but the most resolute. So virulent was the malaria there, that the Arabs were wont to say that a bird could not fly from one side of the Valley to the other without dropping dead.

The history of the Jewish attempts to overcome the physical difficulties of the swamp is the story of real heroism. From the Ghettos of the Russian Pale came the first colonists—idealists and intellectuals, lawyers, writers, doctors, and philosophers. Alas, that their early efforts were largely unsuccessful! The ruins of many settlements could be seen in the pre-War days of the Emek. In many cases several attempts were made to build a colony in certain spots, and each attempt had failed, the entire population being carried off by the dread disease. At that time it was a byword that the graveyards of these villages were more populous than the villages themselves.

But in spite of all discouragements, relays of young men and women were to be found who were prepared to lay down their lives working up to the waist in the ooze and muck of the swamps, pestered by noxious flies, and smitten by the scorching sun overhead. The names of these pioneers are not known, they occupy no individual niche in recorded history, but they stand out as a shining

ZIONISM IN PRACTICE

example of the true idealism of youth. They did not allow themselves to be defeated, either by the logic of the facts or by death itself, in their determination to accomplish a redemption, in which neither they themselves nor their own children, but others, and the children of others, would reap the benefit. Slowly but surely progress was made. The devotion and self-sacrifice of the early pioneers was not made in vain. By 1914 the Emek was at last regaining some of its former glory, swamps were being drained, colonies were being founded. By the outbreak of the War, Merhaviah and Tel Adashim, both flourishing settlements, were tangible results of what had been achieved.

From 1914 to 1918 the Jews in Palestine suffered grievously. Suspecting them of pro-British sympathies, the Turks oppressed and persecuted the Jews, evicting them from their homesteads, throwing them into prison, and finally deporting them. At the outbreak of the War the Jewish population numbered over 90,000; by the Armistice it had shrunk to some 50,000.

Nevertheless, during the whole period the Emek was consolidating its progress and it was thus ready for the rapid strides that it was to make in post-war years. During 1921-22 large redemption schemes were carried out in the Emek involving

THY NEIGHBOUR

over two hundred thousand dunams (1 dunam = $\frac{1}{4}$ acre). The settlements of Nahalal, Ain Harod, Tel Joseph were established; since then the Emek has forged rapidly ahead.

To-day, the beauty, the fertility, and the prosperity of the Emek are bywords in Palestine. Freed from the blighting influence of Turkish indifference and Arab ignorance, the erstwhile glory of Jezreel has returned. Once more does it deserve to be called "The Garden of Palestine". As one stands on the hills now clothed with a great forest which was planted as a memorial to the late Lord Balfour, and where now a new forest is being planted in memory of the late King George V, one sees for as far as the eye can reach the fruitful fields and peaceful settlements of the colonists. Built on the sure foundations of idealism and self-sacrifice, the Valley of Jezreel is now a lasting witness to the wonders that faith will accomplish.

The colonization of a country presenting exceptional natural difficulties by groups of relatively poor people demanded that special methods be adopted which, though well suited to the circumstances, have given rise to much misunderstanding and hostile criticism.

It was impossible in those early days and in those hard conditions for the individual to take his own

ZIONISM IN PRACTICE

particular piece of land, build himself the necessary house and to work upon his own plot. It was, on the contrary, necessary to build a shelter of the simplest character to house the human beings, and for each man to work under the general direction of a supervisory committee, to make drains, level land, plant trees. The work was shared in common, and wants were satisfied out of the communal pool. The assistance afforded these settlements from Zionist funds could not be doled out to each separate individual, but could be given to a community engaged upon a specific task. As time progressed the system had of necessity to be elaborated. A single barracks was not sufficient, a separate barracks had to be provided, both for men and women. As their work prospered, it was found possible to erect a separate hall for meals, a decent kitchen, a decent store for looking after equipment, clothes and other necessities of life. Someone was appointed by the committee to keep chickens, another to look after the cow, and so the functions of the community began to get diversified. The natural increase of the population also demanded special conditions, and a children's crèche was built. Those mothers who were specially gifted or attracted to the task of looking after children undertook that part of the work, while the other

THY NEIGHBOUR

mothers continued to labour of necessity in the kitchens and the fields, and so arose the communal settlements of Palestine, which exemplify to my mind the form of the highest and most selfless devotion to duty which I have found in organized groups of human beings. These communal settlements are known as "Kvuzoth".

They have been accused of being Communist, which is totally untrue. Their origin lies in the sheer necessity of the task rather than in any political ideology. It is obvious that this life is not according to the taste of every individual. The standard of living is low, the standard of duty high. But these colonies have persisted, and their method continues to this day. It is also clear that it is the type of life more attractive to those possessing a highly idealist outlook and a communal philosophy. But the everyday work of the Kvuzoth proceeds smoothly, based on the principle, "From each according to his powers, to each according to his needs". Many of those who to-day inhabit these colonies would on no account change their mode of life for any other. There are others who drifted away either to the individual settlements or to the towns, or to some alternative form of organized human activity. The philosophy cultivated in the existence of these settle-

ZIONISM IN PRACTICE

ments and the approach to life of their inhabitants could easily be the subject of a book in itself, but it is not my purpose to discuss it here, other than to describe the method by which the initial impetus was given and to deny the statement at times made by the opponents of Zionism that Zionists are Communists. So far in fact is this from the truth that in the one Communist state in the world—Russia—adherence to Zionism or the propagation of Zionist principles is, in fact, a political crime, and Zionists in Russia are liable to be treated as agents of British capitalistic Imperialism and to be imprisoned.

Such Communist propaganda as exists in Palestine is directed to two ends: undermining the Zionist concept of the Jews and, above all, the stirring up of the Arabs against both the Zionists and the British Government. This may seem strange to those who imagine that Communist Russia is a production of Russian Jews. It is interesting to reflect that in the early nineties there were in Geneva three students: one was called Lenin, one was called Mussolini, and the other was called Weizmann. The conflict between Lenin and Weizmann was acute even in those days, and among the revolutionaries passing as students from Russia to Switzerland and back again there were

many young Jews and Jewesses. Lenin struggled to bring them into the ambit of his Socialistic and later Communistic circle, while Weizmann directed his energies to attempting to fire them with enthusiasm for the Zionist cause. The Jews of Russia, as a constituent of the population of that mighty country, took a part, and in many cases a prominent part, in the revolutions of Kerensky and Lenin, but there has always been, and there still is, a sharp division between those who fell into the ranks that followed Weizmann and those who fell into the ranks of those that followed Lenin.

The agrarian development of Palestine naturally varied according to circumstances. In the Orange Belt, extending through the Sharon, individual Jewish planters laid out their groves and built up their settlements. In other parts of the country mixed farming was carried out by individuals who acquired land and settled down (employing both Jewish and Arab labourers). Parallel with this development, the cities began their own period of expansion. The British Government had opened up Palestine with a series of military roads which represent a first-class piece of engineering and Government enterprise. In the old days it was an inspiring experience to speak with the Jewish road gangs engaged in construction and to find among

ZIONISM IN PRACTICE

them men of all sorts and conditions, from professors, philosophers and mathematicians, to shopkeepers, tailors and pedlars. As this period of initial endeavour diminished, the cities required more labour for the manifold activities necessary to the support of the agrarian population.

The most romantic story in urban development that perhaps has ever been told is that of the city of Tel-Aviv. A small group of Jews living in the seaport of Jaffa found conditions so intolerable from the point of view of sanitation, education, and social existence that they determined to found a small colony of their own on the sand dunes outside the confines of the municipal area. The leader of this group was Mr. Dizengoff,¹ who proceeded to Europe, and there

¹ Mr. Dizengoff died on September 23 of this year [1936] at the age of 75 after a wonderful life, which is perhaps best summed up in the words of his last article written just before his death: "I face the thought of death without any feelings of sorrow. My life has given me full inward satisfaction. I have not spent my days in vain. The brethren of my beloved country have benefited from them. I can see all Tel Aviv's children, my beloved angels and cherubim, following my coffin, and I seem to hear them crying, 'Dear Grandfather, don't leave us!' Following the children, I can see the youth of Tel Aviv, of whom I have always been the closest friend; and then there are crowds of women, and following them are huge crowds of the citizens of Tel Aviv. Then my body has been put into the damp and cold grave and covered with sand—and it seems to me as if by this demonstration rays of sunshine are bursting through the sand and lightening me on my new way."

THY NEIGHBOUR

succeeded in borrowing, through the agency of Dr. Sokolow, a few thousand francs for his enterprise. The city was founded by a handful of settlers in 1910, and has grown from a population of 15,000 in 1922 to 150,000 to-day. It is one of the largest centres of commerce in the Near East. It holds a biennial Levant Fair, which is undoubtedly one of the most important commercial events of the whole of the Eastern Mediterranean: it is entirely unique in the fact that it is the only wholly Jewish city in the world. Here a Jew can commit a Jewish crime, be run in by a Jewish policeman, be tried by a Jewish magistrate, and be put in prison by a Jewish gaoler, and there is no other town throughout the length and breadth of the globe of which this statement can be made!

The development of Tel-Aviv has been far too rapid and far too unexpected to have achieved the results which everyone would have desired. One has to realize that in many ways Tel-Aviv is less a city than a spirit. Above all other places in Palestine it represents the spirit of the new freedom of Israel. It has to-day schools, theatres, concerts, cinemas, cafés, and all the other attributes of modern civilization. As a large Mediterranean city, it is freer from crime than any other port in the whole of the Mediterranean. Compared with

ZIONISM IN PRACTICE

Marseilles, Genoa, Alexandria, or Constantinople, it occupies a position entirely of its own from the point of view of the high immunity from crime of its inhabitants. It is a fact that a European woman can go out safely at night alone in the streets of Tel-Aviv, a condition of affairs which does not exist either in Jaffa, Haifa, or indeed in more than very few of the seaports of the other Mediterranean countries. Visitors complain that the city is cramped and ugly, and there is some truth in this observation. Just as the Jew who comes to Palestine to escape persecution is cramped and ugly, thwarted by centuries of oppression, so is his city; and just as under the blue skies and sunshine of Eretz Israel he develops into a strong, erect and fine specimen of manhood, so will the city of Tel-Aviv itself acquire beauty.

As might be expected, it is by nature extremely polyglot. In its streets you will find Jews from the Balkans, from Central Europe, from Russia and Poland, from Western Europe, and the United States, together with the interesting Yemenite Jews from Southern Arabia, each bringing with them the characteristics, languages, and ideas of their country of origin. In the old days this presented a colossal obstacle to any coherent activity.

It is indeed a strange fact that this very mixture

stimulated the re-birth of the Hebrew language. That amazing voice described by Renan as: "A quiver full of steel arrows, a cable with strong coils, a trumpet of brass crashing through the air with two or three sharp notes. The letters of its books may not be many, but they are indeed letters of fire." The Jewish citizens of Palestine found it essential to have a common tongue. For centuries Hebrew had been a purely religious language, used much as Latin is used by the Catholic Church for religious and ceremonial purposes. It was therefore known in its Biblical and religious sense to all the many-tongued inhabitants. But it is by no means certain that an ancient language is always capable of adaptation to the necessities of modern life. It is curious that Hebrew has been found extremely suitable for this purpose and that to-day not only is it the language of instruction in the schools, but even in the University it has been found possible to deliver lectures in it on such abstruse subjects as higher mathematics, biology and psychology. It has come to be accepted as a really live and vital idiom. In Hebrew are published four daily newspapers, innumerable periodicals, some endemic and some epidemic, and every year there are several hundreds of books published in the vernacular, either original works or the

ZIONISM IN PRACTICE

translations of standard authors. It has become one of the three official languages of Palestine, and in which everything is printed and written by Government and other authorities. It has also shown itself capable of great dramatic power in the theatre. There are, in Palestine, two major dramatic companies, the *Habimah* and the *Ohel*. Both consist of small and devoted groups who have given their lives to this work, for which they receive extremely little remuneration in proportion to their talents, and who have evolved their own individual dramatization not only of the many Hebrew plays which they present, but also of the Hebrew translations of the great classics of drama. It is amazing that in so short a time and with such slender resources two separate dramatic companies should have been evolved, which, during their tours through the capitals of Europe—London, Paris, Vienna—have received nothing but extravagant praise from the dramatic critics of these and other places which they have visited. It speaks volumes for the cultural force of the Jewish people in their new homeland that they should have already achieved so much in so short a time.

Tel-Aviv is a modern city because, above all things, the Jewish population of Palestine is young. The age distribution of its population is entirely

abnormal: there is a far higher proportion of young men and women and children than is found in any other national group. At the same time, Tel-Aviv combines in an extraordinary way its modern aspect with its ancient traditions. One can go down to the beach at Tel-Aviv on a fine morning in the summer and see thousands of people bathing in the wonderful surf of the Mediterranean in an atmosphere of freedom and happiness which exists nowhere else in the world for them. They are an orderly and decent crowd, as crowds go. I had a personal experience of a vital test on this point last year, at the time of the second Maccabiah. The Maccabiah is an athletic contest in which teams of Jews from every country in the world take part. The first Maccabiah in the history of the Jewish people took place in the year 1932 and the second in 1935, where, in the great stadium overlooking the Mediterranean, the games took place before a crowd of 50,000. The crowd got itself from Tel-Aviv into the stadium and out of the stadium, back to Tel-Aviv, twice in one week with the minimum disturbance of traffic, with the greatest orderliness and without a soul being injured, although the crowd included many women and children. This constitutes a great tribute to the inhabitants of the city, which has

ZIONISM IN PRACTICE

sprung up almost overnight, and is due very largely to the fact that in the whole of that crowd of 50,000 people there was no one who was intoxicated or in any way under the influence of drink.

It is the case that while Jerusalem still represents the acme of Jewish aspiration to the ordinary Zionist, to-day Tel-Aviv occupies a special position nearer to his personal emotion. Jerusalem, the centre of Government and culture and of the history of Palestine, lacks the warmth, the friendliness and the Jewish intimacy which Tel-Aviv provides, and all over the world the fame of Tel-Aviv has gone out among the Jewish communities as a place where the Jew can go and live and be free. Jerusalem has been a centre of active conflict from the earliest times; situated high up in the hills, its invigorating atmosphere has provoked an intensity of thought and feeling which is by no means common to the whole of Palestine. Time has not changed this condition, and to this day Jerusalem, progressing and developing under the impetus of Zionist activity, is still the centre of political and intellectual conflict. From the small insanitary but picturesque city of Turkish days, it is developing into a fine and dignified capital. Jerusalem has an irresistible beauty which captures the heart in a way that does that of no other city in the world.

THY NEIGHBOUR

Among the new buildings which have been designed to harmonize with the historic memorials of the past, there stands a block whose character is one of planned study and grim determination, constituting the head offices of the Jewish Agency of the Zionist Organization, from whence the great efforts which have transformed this country are mainly directed.

There is no doubt that one of the most creative organizations in Palestine is the Labour Federation. Industrially it stands in the same relation as does the T.U.C. in England, but in Palestine it has a far deeper root in the life of the nation owing to the very different circumstances of its existence. It has carried through many excellent practical projects, in connection with building, health and other social services, and deserves, and will one day have, a book to itself. But there is one aspect of Labour in Palestine which I have found nowhere else. It has an entirely different philosophy. Generally speaking, the working man would prefer to be a clerk. Better still, a doctor or a lawyer. In Palestine there is a different spirit. There is a Sanctity of Labour. Jews have been doctors, lawyers, shopkeepers, clerks for centuries. It is nothing to them to be *cleverer than other people*. They want *deliberately* to work; work with their hands and their muscles,

ZIONISM IN PRACTICE

to build up the National Home. To lay one brick on another—is almost a great and sacred act. It is building up. Any edifice, however small, is a new triumph for the National Home. A new wall is a triumph. The land calls out for new workers, new mechanics, new tillers of the soil. Lawyers, clerks, and dentists, we can get them by the thousand; what we need is workers. And everyone who is a worker in Palestine feels a real and personal pride in what he does. If he plants a new tree it is a fresh asset; if he makes a flower grow, or manufactures tin cups or macintoshes, it is all the same—it is something the National Home has which it never had before.

Our new settlers whom we met on the boat at the beginning of this chapter are drawn into this joy of creation. They find they can work as never before—they are not only working for money. They get in their reward something which no money on earth can buy: the service of a great ideal; the creation of a new land in the oldest land; the building up of a National Home, where, of all the countries on earth, it is no shame to be a Jew. The one country where it is a pride. Not a personal and secret pride that is not shared by your neighbours, but an acknowledged, open, obvious and natural pride that is indeed a release

THY NEIGHBOUR

to the spirit of the Jews. There is no neighbour to say or think, "Of course he is a good fellow—but all the same, he is a Jew". There is no doubt or hesitation in using the word "Jew". That which is commonly avoided in polite European society, for fear of hurting someone's feelings or arousing an undesirable discussion, is in Palestine as free and as natural as the air or sunshine or blue sky.

It is a great force, that general feeling of release. It gives rest and ease to the Jew even during short visits. But woe betide those who are indifferent or hostile to that spirit in the country. Their's is a poor condition; the enthusiasm and joy which they see around them merely serves as an irritant, each act of creation is to them a waste of time and energy, each word of praise, each song a new example of the "unrestrained frenzy" of the Jew. There are some who are thus affected, both Jews and non-Jews, visitors and residents, and not a few British officials.

If only the administration and the Arabs could be infected with the same energy and the same gaiety, great things could ensue and all would benefit. But to the "anti-faction" nothing is bad enough to describe our efforts; every sort of argument, statistical, political, and racial prejudice is invoked. If we succeed—it's a flash in the pan. If we fail—

ZIONISM IN PRACTICE

of course, we are incapable. If we have many immigrants—we are rushing things too fast. If we have few—we don't want to come. In other words, all the reasoning of Hadrian, that true and honest anti-semite, who, when they asked him why he executed two Jews in one day, the first for having the cheek to salute him, the second for having the cheek not to, replied, "I hate the Jews, whatever they do is wrong to me."

It is natural that the Zionists are proud of what they have done in Palestine. Nothing like it has ever been done before. Take the celebrated passage in the Government's report on the country in 1920-21 as a starting point:

The country . . . is undeveloped and underpopulated. The methods of agriculture are, for the most part, primitive; the area of land now cultivated could yield a far greater product. There are in addition large cultivable areas that are left untilled. The summits and slopes of the hills are admirably suited to the growth of trees, but there are no forests. Miles of sand dunes that could be redeemed are untouched, a danger, by their encroachment, to the neighbouring tillage. The Jordan and the Yarmuk offer an abundance of water power; but it is unused. Some industries—fishing and the culture and manufacture of tobacco are examples—have been killed by Turkish laws;

THY NEIGHBOUR

none have been encouraged. The markets of Palestine and of the neighbouring countries are supplied almost wholly from Europe. The seaborne commerce, such as it is, is loaded and discharged in the open roadsteads of Jaffa and Haifa; there are no harbours. The religious and historical associations that offer most powerful attraction to the whole of the Western, and to a large part of the Eastern world, have hitherto brought to Palestine but a fraction of the pilgrims and travellers, who, under better conditions, would flock to her sacred shrines and famous sites. The country is underpopulated because of this lack of development. There are now in the whole of Palestine hardly 700,000 people, a population much less than that of the province of Galilee alone, in the time of Christ.

Since then the total population has increased from 757,000 to 1,315,000 and the Jewish population from 84,000 to over 400,000. It is hard to see how this can be called driving out the Arabs, who have increased by nearly 250,000, whereas in pre-Zionist days the population was static and kept static by a constant stream of Arab emigrants who could not support life in the country.

The result of this Zionist immigration on the revenues of the country is startling, as the following table shows :

ZIONISM IN PRACTICE

<i>Year.</i>	<i>Jewish Immigration.</i>	<i>Government Revenue L.P.</i>
1922	8,685	1,809,831
1925	34,386	2,809,324
1929	5,249	2,323,572
1932-33.....	15,000	3,015,917
1933-34.....	40,000	3,985,492
1934-35.....	50,000	5,452,000

In regard to this increase the Government Treasurer stated in his report of 1934-5: "It can, I think, be fairly stated that there has been no increase in the actual incidence of taxation in relation to income." There has, however, been a very large remission of agricultural taxation which has been of great benefit to the Arab cultivator.

The development of the country's trade has made equally large strides.

FOREIGN TRADE INDICES (IMPORTS AND EXPORTS)

<i>Year</i>	<i>Egypt</i>	<i>Syria</i>	<i>Iraq</i>	<i>Palestine</i>
1931.....	100	100	100	100
1935.....	113.6	58.3	124	293

The production of Jewish factories has grown from less than £1,000,000 a year in 1921 to over £8,000,000 a year by 1935, and the capital investment from under £500,000 to £8,500,000. The number of workers has grown from 4,500 to 30,000. Most of this increase has taken place since 1929 (when all sorts of Commissions said the country was full and could never expand any more), at a time when the world index of industrial produc-

THY NEIGHBOUR

tion declined from 100 in 1929 to 76 in 1934. During the same period the Palestine index of production rose from 100 in 1929 to 320 in 1935. The figures of the Palestine Electric Corporation, whose history under the energetic direction of Mr. P. Rutenberg is itself an epic, and whose first chairman till his recent death was Lord Reading, is an excellent example of the progress of the country. Its output of electrical energy has risen from 7,199,317 k.w.h. in 1930 to 71,885,097 k.w.h. in 1935. In addition to the output of industry, the output of citriculture is £3,500,000 and of mixed farming £4,500,000. Naturally, with the influx of immigrants, building plays an important part in the country's economy, and in 1935 represented a capital investment of £8,000,000 as compared with less than £1,000,000 in 1924. But building activity is by no means exclusively Jewish. The Arabs, benefiting from this general increase in prosperity, have also been at work, both in purely Arab and also in 'mixed' towns. The following table shows how at any rate some of the proceeds of their increased prosperity have been spent.

BUILDING ACTIVITY 1924-34 INDICES

	1924	1934
Mixed towns	100	836
Arab towns	100	252
Jewish towns	100	748.

ZIONISM IN PRACTICE

Motor vehicles have increased from 400 in 1922 to 12,000 to-day, and the railway passenger traffic from 600,000 a year to 2,100,000.

But perhaps as important as any has been the success of Haifa Harbour. The tonnage entering the port has increased from 470,000 tons in 1922 before the harbour was built, to 5,000,000. To-day it compares in importance with all the great harbours of the Eastern Mediterranean.

TONNAGE ENTERED

	1910	1935
Alexandria	3,698,000	6,178,000
Beirut	1,767,000	2,410,000
Haifa	784,000	4,901,000
Jaffa	—	2,407,000

Palestine has become a country of real significance in the shipping trade of the world, its total tonnage comparing quite well with such countries as India, Egypt, Sweden, Roumania and Australia.

Another advance which has favoured both Arab and Jew is the rise in wage rates, from the index figure of 100 in 1913 to the figure of 390 in 1932. No Government figures have been published since that date, but the report of the Department of Overseas Trade in 1935 states that wages have progressively increased since 1933. The cost of living, however, has gone down, and the retail price index has fallen from 100 in 1922 to 55 in

1934. Meanwhile in Syria, where there has been no Zionism, wages have declined by 25 per cent.

There is nothing on which the Zionists pride themselves more than on their contribution to the social welfare of the country. The Government's health budget in Palestine is £.142 per head of population, which is a third higher than Egypt and twice as high as Iraq, the total being £166,000, but of this only £10,000 goes to the Jews. The Zionists' own health budget amounts to no less than £200,000 a year, which, if added to that of the Government, brings the total health expenditure to over three times that of any neighbouring country. In this I have a real complaint against the Arab. They have had millions of pounds of our money. They profess a patriotism so intense that they are always inducing the more inflammable members of their population to go out and shoot some British policemen or soldiers or some Jews, but they have never built a school or a hospital for themselves. The one real contribution to their advance is the Arab agricultural school—but the Government built this with money provided by a Jew! One would feel more convinced of their patriotism if they did something charitable and constructive—but instead they shoot at our hospitals. *The Times* reports that on July 23, 1936,

ZIONISM IN PRACTICE

they threw a bomb into the playground of a Jewish school during the play hour—seven children between the ages of seven and eleven were hurt. Hardly an attractive form of patriotism or one that does credit to the civilized feelings of its perpetrators!

Finally, Zionism has repaid Great Britain for the cost of the military railways built by Allenby for his campaign—one of the few War debts that have been paid, and Palestine has purchased between 1922 and 1935 over £20,000,000 worth of British goods, and sold Great Britain £12,000,000 worth in return.

So figures tell the tale of a miraculous development, one which any great Mediterranean power, France, Spain or Italy, would be proud to boast of. But though there has been a considerable influx of small capitalists into the country, the progress which I have described in the last few pages has not come about by itself, but has been the result of combined intensive effort, in the social and political spheres. It must not be imagined that these efforts have been made by those whose powerful situation fitted them for the task. The principal instruments of active Zionism (apart from the Jewish Agency, which is constituted under the Mandate as a body to assist the Govern-

THY NEIGHBOUR

ment in the task of creating the National Home) are the Jewish National Fund and the Palestine Foundation Fund. The object of the Jewish National Fund is to collect money to buy land in Palestine to achieve the ideal of Herzl, and of all Zionists, to root Israel once more upon its ancient soil. It has been true, certainly, until very recent years that four and a half million pounds collected for this purpose have not come from the wealthy members of the Jewish community, but have, on the contrary, been collected largely in pennies in the little blue collection boxes of the Jewish National Fund which have been spread across the world. Into these boxes, week by week, month by month, year by year, the poorest Jewish families have put their tiny contributions, and if ever there was a real parallel to the story of the Widow's Mite, it is to be found in this system of collection. There is no hope of direct benefit to those who give, no belief that they will get to Palestine as a result of their own savings, but a contribution to the ideal of the redemption of the land of Israel to the people of Israel, and the faith that from this, and from this alone, can the redemption of the people spring.

It is a cardinal feature of the Jewish National Fund that it shall not alienate possession of its

ZIONISM IN PRACTICE

land but only grant long leases to the settlers on it. Its policy is inspired by the verses in Leviticus : "The land shall not be sold for ever, for the land is mine. And in all the land of your possession ye shall grant a redemption for the land."

By means of this fund 368,000 dunams of land have been purchased over a period of thirty-five years, out of a total estimated cultivatable area of Palestine of some twelve million dunams, of which six per cent is estimated to be in Jewish hands. Parallel with this organization there exists the machinery of the Palestine Foundation Fund, whose business it is throughout the world to impose a second and voluntary system of taxation upon the Jewish people as a whole. They are, indeed, the income-tax collectors of Zionism, but they have to collect their revenues without any of the normal aids to this painful process.

The income-tax laws of Great Britain put powers in the hands of the commissioners to distrain at will upon the property of the subject, to walk into his house under the protection of a most rapidly working legal system, to detach pieces of his property and sell them to collect their revenues, with further dire penalties which make it impossible for the citizen to escape his just dues. Jews living all over the world are subject to the normal

THY NEIGHBOUR

national systems of taxation. If they have property in Palestine they pay taxes upon that as well. In addition, they subject themselves under the spur of Zionist idealism to annual contributions amounting in the aggregate to £400,000 a year. These funds are provided to pay for the constructive machinery of the Zionist Movement, the colonizing effort and the support which is to be given to colonists who are devoid of their own resources, and assistance to Jewish schools throughout the country, medical services and all the normal attributes of a civilized life, with the exception of law courts, police, and defence. It is staggering to realize that the money for these purposes is by no means provided by the richest communities, but on the contrary is largely provided by the poor ones. In Poland, where the Jewish community is poorer, perhaps, than anywhere else in the world, has always borne a high proportion of the total contributions to national funds. In the earlier stages of the Zionist effort, in the seven years from 1922 to 1929 the development of the country was, to a very large extent, dependent on and governed by these collections, and as conditions of necessity fluctuated in Europe, it determined the extent to which these self-imposed taxes could be realized in cash. It is not unnatural, therefore, that the

ZIONISM IN PRACTICE

rate of progress fluctuated during this period; great strides were made, however, and the doubts of the earlier years were rapidly dispelled. Confidence was established not only in the political position of Zionism, and in the intentions of the British Government, but in the power of Jewry itself to achieve its own ideal.

New forces were drawn in, the Agency was enlarged and extended to embrace many prominent and distinguished Jews, some of whom had been sympathetic and helpful from the early days, and some of whom were converted by the rapidity of the progress which they saw taking place before their eyes. Eminent among the first group was my late father, who in 1929 became joint chairman of the Council of the Jewish Agency, with Louis Marshall, one of the most distinguished figures in American Jewry. The stage seemed set for a new step forward, for the expansion of Zionist efforts in the direction of a greater and more prosperous Palestine, and a development which might truly have been described as having national significance.

I have, in the earlier pages of this chapter, mentioned the difficulties that were presented by the Arab population, and the dilemma with which the British Government was faced as a result of the

behaviour of the present Emir of Transjordan and the subsequent detachment of his territory from Palestine, which was not intended in the first place. Much has been written by people on the so-called injustice to the Arab that Zionist immigration has produced, but those who have the greatest claims to speak are of another opinion. So great an authority and ardent advocate of Arab claims as Lawrence of Arabia, far from being against Zionism, was actively in favour of it. Professor Namier, in the *Manchester Guardian* of May 20th, 1935, relates a conversation that he had in 1930 with Colonel Lawrence, who, as he said, widely differed from those who love the Arabs as a stick with which to beat the Jews. Lawrence expressed himself in regard to Zionism as follows :

The problem of Zionism is the problem of the third generation. It is the grandsons of your immigrants who will make it succeed or fail, but the odds are so much in its favour that the experiment is worth backing, and I back it not because of the Jews, but because a regenerated Palestine is going to raise the whole moral and material status of its Middle East neighbours.

There is no doubt that the development of the country under the Zionists has brought about a very material improvement in Arab conditions.

ZIONISM IN PRACTICE

From a country that was totally barren and stagnant has been produced the most lively centre of development in the whole of the Near East; development which is by no means confined to purely material efforts. The Arab peasant has obtained millions of pounds for land for which there was previously no purchaser, and has to a large extent utilized this unexpected accretion of capital to develop his own property. Anyone who knows the country intimately can testify to the steady, if gradual, improvement in the living conditions of the Arab population, both as regards the stone houses, which are gradually replacing the mud huts in which he has lived for centuries, and in the general conditions of life. But all this is of no moment to the Effendi class of Arab who really constitute the rulers and leaders of this population. Traditional aristocrats, occupying influential situations under the Turkish Government, they had never lost hope of arresting the whole course and progress of Zionism, of driving out the British, and of being left in the position to dominate the country and extracting from the Fellahin (the peasants) that accretion of wealth which they felt to be their natural due.

The Arab is an extraordinary being. He is easily raised to a pitch of excitable enthusiasm, which

THY NEIGHBOUR

fortunately diminishes with equal speed. The method of communication through the Mosque, where religious and national aspirations are combined with great facility, makes combined action easy to organize, and during the summer of 1929 agitation was developed to a dangerous pitch in the traditional manner, until the temperature of the Arab population was raised to flash point. The stories that were told may seem incredible to reasonable people, but were implicitly believed by the Arab peasants. They were told that the Jews had stormed the Mosque of Omar and had desecrated the holy Moslem places: that they had fallen on Arab centres and decimated the population. In the outlying parts of the country the Arabs were implored to combine together to attack the Jews in order to defend their very lives. Needless to say, not one of these stories was even remotely true, and it may be pointed out that although there have been three separate Arab risings against the Jews since 1920, there has never been a Jewish rising against the Arabs.

In the very heart of the city of Jerusalem there stands the Mosque of Omar, on the site of the foundations of the ancient Temple of Solomon. The western wall of these foundations is still intact; Jewish tradition has it that this is the wall

ZIONISM IN PRACTICE

that was built by the poor of Israel, and that it has therefore been allowed by the Almighty to remain, whereas the rest of the Temple has disappeared. It is of simple construction, rising sheer from the pavement, of huge, shaped blocks of grey stone, said to have been quarried in the cave of Zedekiah. Above are spread the spacious courts of the Mosque, which has had so many vicissitudes. On this site have been erected and destroyed three mighty temples to Jehovah. The Mosque has, on two separate occasions, been dedicated as a Christian Church, and has as often been recaptured to the Moslem faith. But with all the many religious memorials that exist throughout Palestine and throughout the world, this simple wall is the one holy place remaining to Jewry in the very heart, as it were, of the opposing sects. From time immemorial it has been the custom and privilege of the Jews to worship at the foot of the wall, and even the Romans who expelled the Jews from Jerusalem permitted them to return to this spot to mourn and lament the disaster of the loss of the Temple.

This was the spot chosen to commence a general conflagration in 1929. I have no intention here to go into the details of religious and ritual controversy that were involved, but it is sufficient to

THY NEIGHBOUR

note that according to the official report of the British Government Commission sent out to investigate the question, the Jews worshipping at this spot were molested by Arab extremists; they naturally resented the intrusion and a brawl ensued, which soon became a general onslaught upon the more defenceless part of the Jewish community throughout Palestine. It was extraordinarily significant that none of the young and vigorous colonies were attacked; in every case the onslaught was directed upon either the old and defenceless type of Jew of which we have already heard, or upon the orphanages, hospitals, and other places where considerable resistance was not likely to be encountered. The loss of life was not inconsiderable, and the moral and material damage was grave. The Government of the day took steps to restore order, which by no means satisfied the leaders of the Jewish community. This incident at once plunged the whole question of Zionist development into the melting-pot. The Jews once more had the feeling that it was inconceivable that this could have taken place against the wishes of the British officials. The British officials and the Government, both of Palestine and this country, became alarmed at the difficulties which confronted them in the execution of their task. All

ZIONISM IN PRACTICE

sorts of commissions were sent out to Palestine which tried to show that the whole ideology of Zionism was impracticable, and could not be expected to succeed.

By this time Zionist effort had made roots that were firm and could not be shaken. Heavy indeed were the blows which fell upon the cause by the death of Mr. Louis Marshall in the middle of 1929 and of my father in December 1930, by which the organization was deprived of two of its most powerful and influential supporters, at a time when they most needed their help. Based on the Commission's report, Lord Passfield issued the celebrated White Paper on behalf of the British Government. This later was rather more liberally interpreted in a letter from the Prime Minister, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, which reaffirmed that the Government policy had not in fact been changed by the recent upheavals.

As events have turned out, nothing could have been more superficial than the view that in 1929 Jewish development in Palestine had reached its zenith; in fact, it was in its infancy. In the ensuing years, from 1929 to 1935, nearly 150,000 Jews have entered the country with many millions of capital. The Government of Palestine, under the leadership of Sir Arthur Wauchope, has acquired

an accumulated surplus of seven million pounds, the whole trade, prosperity, and development of the country has improved at a pace which makes the effort of the previous period appear negligible. Throughout the great world depression of 1929 to 1933 Palestine remained a shining example of a country without unemployment, and with a budgetary surplus, making annual progress in every sphere of activity. But in this it must not be forgotten that a great stimulus to Zionist development resulted from one of the principal developments of the world depression.

The advent of the Hitler régime to power, largely a result of the economic disturbances of this period, turned Zionism for the first time from a question of theory or of practical idealism, into a question of absolute and utter necessity. Anti-semitism is a strange disease: it is highly endemic, and spreads very rapidly. Having run its course it diminishes in intensity, but it never totally disappears. The increase of violent anti-semitism throughout Europe has driven thousands of Jews, not only of the working-classes but also of the middle-classes, to realize that in Palestine, and in Palestine alone, can they live the life of free and independent men, unmolested either by barbaric Nazis, or by other anti-semitic groups. Many have

ZIONISM IN PRACTICE

come to Palestine with a moderate competence to retire and to end their days in peace. Many have come with the last vestiges of their capital in order to be able to live a new life; many have come with nothing but the clothes they stand up in and the life they have within them to give to the development of their new country. All have made their contribution, and among the many who have given their lives for Palestine should not be excluded that class, little regarded, little spoken of, known as the illegal immigrants: men and women, driven by dire necessity, who have determined to risk everything and break all bounds in order to get to Eretz Israel. They arrive by all sorts of means, an effect of the limiting policy of the Government of the day, and the pressure that exists outside. They come by night over the Syrian frontier in the hands of Arab guides, who murder them for the paltry remainder of their worldly goods; they jump off ships two and three miles out at sea and swim ashore. It is recorded that upon one occasion a party of youngsters made this desperate attempt not far from Tel-Aviv, and swam a long distance from the ship to the sandy beach. When they arrived it was found that one of their party, a girl, who had been assisted towards the end of the swim by the others, was insensible from exhaustion

THY NEIGHBOUR

and exposure. They carried her up to the nearest Jewish hospital, where it was found that she was already dead. It was impossible for the hospital authorities, under the existing penal laws, to account for the existence of this superfluous body, and the first task for these emigrants in their new country was to carry the body of their companion back to the seashore, and to commit it again to the waves. This is an example of the spirit of modern Palestine, and the spirit of the modern Jew. He has no alternative, he has no hope and no future, but in Eretz Israel. Not only in Germany, where the pressure is intolerable, but in other countries, young and old clamour at the doors of the emigration offices of the Jewish Agency, begging for the precious certificates so sparingly granted by the Government of Palestine, which are the passports releasing them from their living deaths. As one of the Zionist leaders wrote to me the other day, "when we see the conditions, and when we hear their cries, we weep with them, for we have nothing to give but tears."

CHAPTER V

Zionism and the Empire

England, great England, whose gaze sweeps over all the seas—free England—will understand and sympathize with the aims and aspirations of Zionism.

THEODOR HERZL (1900)

Is it beyond the weight and skill of European statesmanship, and beyond the capacity of European goodwill, to find a solution to this problem and relief for this tragedy?

In the course of our narrative, which touches on the most important points of recorded history, a few salient facts emerge. The first, and most vital, is the indestructibility of the Jewish people as a people. Disraeli's rolling phrases, quoted in Chapter II, epitomize the story of a long and bitter struggle. Every sort of nation, every type of society, every period of history, has attempted the extermination of the Jews, and none has succeeded. What are the basic principles that underlie this extraordinary state of affairs? That first of all, Jewry, by its very innermost nature, possesses a vitality which is capable of withstanding the

THEY NEIGHBOUR

most ferocious efforts to extinguish it. Whence this vitality is derived and what its purpose in the world, can be left to the speculation of metaphysicians and philosophers. It is sufficient for us to record it as an observable fact. Secondly, that there is in human nature, in spite of its ferocity, an essential element of gentleness which distinguishes it from the brute and which invariably supervenes before the task of destruction is completed.

The blood-lust in man, when directed to the anti-semitic purpose, does not last quite so long as the vital power of Jewry to resist it, and these two factors have created the Jewish problem, which would otherwise have been solved long ago by the simple fact of the extermination of Jews.

Volumes could be written upon the origins of anti-semitism, and I have mentioned some of the many complex causes in this book. It remains true that a very large number of people do not like Jews for good and valid reasons of their own. A far larger number of people who have never in their lives met a Jew, and have no reason to hate them, dislike and fear them by tradition, a tradition which the accepted religions of Europe, fine and noble as their other qualities are, combined to foster. Largely the designed separateness with which the Jew has surrounded

ZIONISM AND THE EMPIRE

himself in order to preserve his identity, has done much to increase this dislike and fear of him. And here we should note that peculiar miracle of Jewish history, of how a people deprived of a country managed, in spite of continual attacks, to substitute a belief and an individual method of life, in fact a spiritual concept for a physical territory.

Whereas the conflicts of ancient times in which Jewry was involved were conflicts of territory, and whereas the conflicts of the Middle Ages were conflicts of religion, the conflict to-day is a conflict of race. It has been said that every country gets the Jews it deserves. In other words, good Jewish populations exist in those countries where the Jewish population is well treated. But the treatment of Jewish population is to some extent a quantitative problem. It is obviously not easy for any country to absorb more than a given number of Jewish citizens, and one aspect of anti-semitism which particularly affects Eastern Europe to-day is purely quantitative.

In Germany, the problem is quite different—German Jewry was under one per cent of the total population of Germany. The reasons for anti-semitism there are purely political in origin, since it has been possible for a group of politicians to

THY NEIGHBOUR

personify them as the scapegoat for all the German faults and misfortunes that she has experienced since 1914. They have been held responsible for all trials and difficulties of the post-war period and for all of the mistakes that Germany made in spite of the genuine attempt of Europe to re-establish her among the comity of nations.

But whether the cause be quantitative and religious, or whether it be political and racial, the result for Jewry is equally tragic. The Jew remains placed in a situation where he is the victim for all crimes and misfortunes. The natural desire of mankind to think well of itself and to think all the better of itself because it has someone to despise, has the most ample opportunity for gratification when it is vented upon the Jew.

There is no insult too harsh for him, no attribute too horrible. Any crime that a Jew might commit, any false step that a Jew might make, is visited upon the whole of the race. What matter it that as a community they are charitable, that they are law-abiding, that they honour their parents and preserve the sanctity of family life—if a single Jew has transgressed, the virtues of the remainder are accounted as if they had never been. All the ancient prejudices are revived with all the multitudinous calumnies against which there is no

ZIONISM AND THE EMPIRE

defence. That similar vilifications and similar calumnies have been levelled at other groups and sects is perfectly true, but they have, as the world grew more civilized, obtained that independence which is the only real human defence, and that is of being sufficiently numerous and sufficiently united to take care of themselves.

And here we get to that real and only solution to our problem, the solution foreseen by that great intellect and mighty spirit, Arthur Balfour, who impressed it on his colleagues in the British Cabinet, and which has been reaffirmed by successive British Governments, the establishment of a National Home for the Jewish people. It can be argued—and quite rightly—that Palestine cannot absorb the whole of Jewry, but that is merely begging the question. The number of Jews in the world is estimated at some fourteen millions. Of these, some 4,000,000 are in the United States, where they are well situated and easily assimilated by that vast population of 120 million people, who themselves are drawn from a mixture of all the countries of Europe; and some 3,000,000 are in Russia, where the Bolshevik Government has drastically dealt with the Jewish question by sternly discouraging all religions and by otherwise making all citizens equal. Zionism is a political

THY NEIGHBOUR

crime in Russia, and for Jewish purposes, the Jews of Russia are to all intents lost. This reduces the problem to something in the neighbourhood of 6,500,000, of whom 3,000,000 are in Poland, about 900,000 in Roumania, about 200,000 in Austria, about 500,000 in Germany, some 300,000 in England, about the same number in France, 50,000 in Italy, 400,000 in Hungary, and the balance in Belgium, Holland, Czechoslovakia, Latvia, Esthonia and Lithuania, Bulgaria, Greece, and in small communities scattered all over the world.

In England, France, Italy, Holland, Belgium, and Bulgaria, the Jewish population is small relative to the total population of the countries; is well-established, well-treated, and has provided distinguished servants to all branches of national life, and has, except for spasmodic outbreaks for political purposes, little reason for fear or complaint.

On the contrary, in these countries the Jewish communities live in peace and amity with their fellow-citizens, mingle and inter-marry freely, and, although there exist some prejudices in some sections of all countries, they are not sufficiently serious as to create a problem of a really violent or urgent nature. It is in Germany, in Austria,

ZIONISM AND THE EMPIRE

Roumania, and, above all, in Poland, that the most urgent questions arise.

In Germany, as we have already seen, for political reasons the position has become quite intolerable on any basis whatever. It is utterly impossible to expect men and women to continue to live in such conditions and to remain human beings.

It is admitted by everyone who has studied the question that there is only one solution, and that is the mass and total evacuation of German Jewry. If there had previously been any doubt on this point, the publication of the report of Mr. James Macdonald, the High Commissioner appointed by the League of Nations for German refugees, has made abundantly clear to even those most reluctant to believe it, that there is no other solution of the problem open even to discussion.

So far as Poland, Roumania, Austria, Hungary and the smaller countries of Lithuania and Latvia are concerned, the problem is acute in roughly that order. From these countries up to the outbreak of the War large numbers of Jews migrated annually to the U.S.A. to build up the 4 millions which are placed in that country.

Since the War, this migration has been almost entirely cut off. Jews have been forced to remain in the older countries whose economic structure has

been undergoing a profound change. Whereas for centuries past the Jew has occupied the position of the middleman, the petty-tradesman, the broker, and the small artisan, these countries are now being organized on a national basis, which tends to eliminate all these functions. Great co-operatives are in course of formation, small firms are being merged into large firms, and this done under Government auspices in such a way as to diminish seriously the capacity of the small trader to make a livelihood. The rationalization of the methods of distribution, though carried out on purely national and economic grounds, creates a burden which in these countries falls almost exclusively on the Jew. *It is largely the Jewish communities who suffer as the result of this re-organization.*

It is not unnatural that in the newly formed co-operatives, the employees are drawn from nationals of the country, other than the Jews, who are forced to remain petty traders, the great mass of which are being compelled to an intolerable poverty.

This makes them all the more competitive, and therefore the more subject to attack, and the situation would be grave enough apart from that in Nazi Germany. Eastern Europe and Russia were more backward in regard to the Jewish question than the rest of the world, and with the large num-

ZIONISM AND THE EMPIRE

bers of Jews concentrated in these areas by the accidents of history, there has always been a considerable volume of anti-semitism. With the rise of the anti-semitic campaigns in Germany, the passions of anti-semitism have been violently inflamed throughout Eastern Europe. These passions are continually stimulated by the agents of the German Government, which has a great advantage to gain in creating a common racial philosophy along its borders, on which it may lay the foundations of a policy of racial unity and subsequent absorption, either through annexation, invasion by invitation, military entry to restore order, or whatever other choice of words may be made for expressing the enlargement of the German frontiers.

The problem cries out for immediate and drastic action. Already minor pogroms have broken out in Poland and Roumania. The Governments of these countries are composed of civilized and enlightened persons anxious to avoid internal conflict, and to whom the idea of mass injury to a people who are, after all, their own subjects, is immensely repugnant. They are becoming less able to withstand the pressure brought on them by opposition parties, who make capital out of fomenting the fashionable sentiment of anti-

THY NEIGHBOUR

semitism. If matters are allowed to continue in the present vein there can be no doubt that it is merely a matter of time before mass outbreaks of a violent physical nature will occur. European history and the peoples of Europe will be once more tarnished by a series of horrible pogroms. No doubt their authors will, as usual, blame the pogroms on the Jews. This is merely according to the usual formula and deceives no one, not even the perpetrators themselves. The civilization of our age will be desecrated by a series of slaughters, on entirely defenceless minorities in little towns scattered through various countries. There will be cries of horror, meetings of protest, but in vain; no flood of spoken or written words will wash the bloodstains from the pages of history, or restore life to the battered corpses of defenceless Jews which lie in the gutter.

What will the effect of this be upon the population of Europe? As we have already seen, it will not result in the extermination of the Jews: it will merely be another senseless and bloody outrage. Those who have committed the outrage will not benefit. I do not believe that the human race benefits from crimes against God and its own nature. Individuals can go through the stage of personal penitence: this is not possible for nations. Justifi-

ZIONISM AND THE EMPIRE

cation will have to be found, further oppressions will have to be enacted, and a long series of years pass before decent relations can be restored, and before those who have perpetrated the outrages can, in their own minds, face the realities of the situation.

And what about those who are the victims, who will suffer as they have suffered before? Of the survivors some will be purified and strengthened by their suffering: such is human nature. Others, being also human, will suffer a different reaction. They will become the determined enemies of organized society. They will become bitter, vital, and intelligent antagonists of the existing scheme which has dealt with them so harshly. They will be forced into alliance with the subversive forces of mankind, whereas they previously formed a stable and law-abiding element. Wherever the trouble commences there will be waves of refugees breaking frontiers and crowding into neighbouring lands. Destitute and homeless, they will become burdens upon whatever country they happen to penetrate. We have already seen much of this on a small scale in recent years. The flood of refugees that was forced out of Germany subsequent to the accession of Hitler, and the progressive accentuation of his anti-

THY NEIGHBOUR

semitic policy created a situation sufficiently serious and catastrophic to cause the League of Nations to appoint a High Commissioner for German Refugees.

A man once said: "Of all the terrible fates that I could wish for my enemy, there is one that I could never bring myself to wish for him, and that is to be a refugee." The fate of the refugee is more hopeless and more cruel than any other. The first influx is received with sympathy, with kindness, with understanding, but as the numbers increase and the period of their occupation continues, the refugee becomes a being for whom nobody cares. Cut off from all the roots of his existence, from all the contacts, the friendships, the biological growth of human relationship, he is stranded in a world where he is useless, unwanted. However fine his talents, there is no place for them outside the life in which they had been nurtured.

There has been only one solution for refugees from persecution, whether political or religious, when it has taken place on any scale, and that has been migration to a new country, to found a new life and a new home. The foundation of the real colonization of the United States was the non-conforming Pilgrim Fathers, the white colonization of South Africa was on the same basis of

ZIONISM AND THE EMPIRE

refugee Huguenots, and the solution of the Jewish question is no exception to this general rule. But in addition to creating a new life and a new country, they are reviving their freedom in a country which is the cradle of one of the most ancient civilizations in the world.

The problem that faces Europe is indeed of considerable dimensions. One can find a parallel and observe with satisfaction the successful redistribution of people that took place as a result of the last war.

When the Turks expelled the Greeks from Asia Minor, Europe was faced with the problem of the transference of one and a half million Greeks across the Mediterranean. Either that, or to sit by in idleness and see them massacred by the Turkish population. The nations of Europe intervened, the League of Nations provided a loan; in the space of less than four years the whole operation was completed, and provided the basis for a long period of Greek development and prosperity. The solution of the problem was complete and absolute. The trouble between the Greeks and the Turks in Asia Minor, that had been a perpetual source of dispute, had entirely vanished. The Greek refugees, after a certain period of initial difficulty, have shaken down and provided an industrious and energetic

element of the population. They have cultivated land that was waste before, brought with them arts and knowledge not previously indigenous, and have proved that large transferences of population are not only possible, but highly beneficial.

The early Zionists suffered under bloody catastrophies at the hands of the Tzarist régime such as are likely to be repeated in our time. They realized that the only solution was to found a new country.

I have recounted the story of their difficulties and of successes, of the hostility and of the friendship which they received, and what to-day is the real obstacle to such another mass transfer from Europe to the Near East, to Palestine, to Transjordan, comparable with that which the Greek Government, with the assistance of the League of Nations, effected between the years 1923-26?

There is no longer any question as to the desire of the population to migrate, nor does any question arise as to the desire of their respective Governments that they should migrate.

In the case of Germany, no one could be so unnatural as to pretend that the Government which proscribed half a million of its population in a manner already described, does not deserve to be relieved of these citizens. The idea that they

should be kept in Germany to be tormented, as the feudal degenerates of the Middle Ages kept prisoners in their dungeons for the pure pleasure of torturing them, is, I think, an idea which is entirely beyond the bounds of possibility in modern Europe.

The Governments of Poland and Roumania and Austria and of the three smaller countries all admit that they have a larger Jewish population than they can successfully deal with, and that if these populations were reduced by forty per cent or fifty per cent their problem would be solved. It is no exaggeration to say that if a major scheme of migration were announced as a matter of joint European policy, approved and supported by the League of Nations, there would at once be an abatement of anti-semitic agitation, and the belief would be created that a real and constructive effort was being made to deal with the question. The Jewish populations would feel a security and a hope of which they are at present deprived. Non-Jewish populations would feel that it was not worth while to work themselves into a frenzy about a people whose numbers were to be so largely diminished. Pressure would decrease, catastrophe would be averted, and an ease appear in the European situation which is already sufficiently inflammable.

THY NEIGHBOUR

On the financial side the problem does not present any insuperable difficulties. There are already some £17,000,000 of bank deposits in Palestine, a large proportion of which awaits opportunity for investment in the country, and which will in due course produce its own fructifying effect.

The Jewish communities of England and America are already pledged to find £3,000,000 by a scheme sponsored by Sir Herbert Samuel, Lord Bearsted, and Mr. Simon Marks, to assist and facilitate the evacuation of a considerable proportion of the Jews of Germany. The Jewish populations, both of that country and of the other countries in question, while poor, are not penniless, and if a reasonable opportunity is afforded for liquidation of their properties and transference of their funds, the scheme would be able, without difficulty, to stand upon its own feet financially. What is, however, necessary is the establishment of an International Clearing Bank, under the auspices of the League of Nations, and of a League of Nations loan to facilitate the transfer. The considerable sums involved would be transferred over a period of time, and it would probably prove necessary to commence with an initial loan capital of £2,000,000, which money could be paid out as

ZIONISM AND THE EMPIRE

cash to the first group of settlers against their deposit in their respective countries of equivalent cash or approved securities. The transfer fund would then recoup itself from these deposits as and when the opportunities occur, and with the assistance and support of the respective Governments. That these transfer arrangements can be made effective has been shown by the results of many successful schemes put into operation over the last few years, and in view of the very large sums which these schemes have involved, any additional amounts necessary for the purpose of this migration would be no great additional burden. From the point of view of European foreign policy, great benefit would be derived, since tension would be relieved.

In such a scheme as I am outlining, refugees from Germany would naturally have a considerable claim to preference over refugees from all other countries, owing to the intolerable nature of their position, and the elimination of this question from the realm of German politics can have nothing but a beneficial effect.

The persecution of the Jews in Germany stands between the German people and the other peoples of Europe as an obstacle to real understanding and *rapprochement*, not because of Jewish political influence, which is inconsiderable, both in this and

in other countries, but because the moral sense of England and of Europe has been outraged by a gross injustice. Anything which tends to find a solution to this problem can only make towards the peace of Europe, without which our present civilization is doomed.

The execution of such a policy must, in the nature of things, largely fall upon the power which has the Mandate for Palestine and for the creation of a Jewish National Home—Great Britain—and it is well to consider how this policy would conform to the general British Imperial policy, apart altogether from the support which it might be expected to receive on purely humanitarian grounds. There is a very real benefit which the British Empire has to expect from carrying out this work of relief.

The situation in the Mediterranean has made it clear that, with the development of the aeroplane, Malta is no longer so suitable a base for British naval purposes, and the harbour at Haifa at once assumes a strategic importance of an altogether new character. As the result of large-scale improvements completed in 1933 Haifa is the finest harbour in the Eastern Mediterranean. At the terminus of the Mosul pipe line and capable of sheltering a cruiser squadron of the British fleet,

the harbour is of first-class importance. Its still further enlargement for purely commercial purposes is already under discussion, as is the question of the development of a new harbour at Tel-Aviv, and the added impetus of national strategy should cause the British Government to proceed with both these schemes with the utmost dispatch. The growth of light industry around Haifa, with the establishment of factories and workshops, renders the harbour of still greater utility as a fitting-out port for the fleet. The development of the aeroplane has also given Palestine a new significance. Our air routes to India, Australia, and South Africa, which constitute the greatest part of the British Empire, can scarcely be expected to be based upon a stage which, commencing at Croydon, makes its first landing-place either in India or British South Africa. At present Egypt constitutes a considerable air station on these routes, but Egypt is an independent territory, populated by only a handful of British among millions of Egyptians, who from time to time demonstrate their hostility to British occupation, and who certainly could not be relied upon in times of emergency to rally to the defence of the vital link in the chain of imperial communications.

Palestine provides an equally suitable position

for such an air base and one which, with modern air development, will soon be reached with considerable facility in a single step from these islands. From there, either to India or British South Africa, is a perfectly reasonable second stage for modern flying purposes.

Further to this comes the question of the defence of the Suez Canal, which can not only be as easily defended from the Palestine side as from the Egyptian side, but Palestine itself constitutes a real bulwark against the invasion of the Suez Canal, which is far more probable from the north than from the deserts of the south and west. Further to this, road and rail connection from Akabah to Haifa would give an alternative method for the transport of troops and *materiel* in case of any attack on the Canal, and in addition there is always the possibility of a duplicate canal from Akabar direct to the Mediterranean. We therefore see, from the imperial, naval, military, and air point of view, that Palestine occupies an essential strategical position.

From the commercial point of view the development of a new country in the Near East is bound to be beneficial to world trade as a whole, and the intensive development of such an area under British jurisdiction must, in the nature of things,

ZIONISM AND THE EMPIRE

materially increase British power and British prestige in the Mediterranean. But the defence of this complex is a matter of no small importance. Great Britain does not maintain a large standing army, nor do we desire to add to our burdens the anxiety of so large an increase in our Mediterranean fleet as to make this important link with the Empire impregnable. The true defence of any country is its population, and therefore it is, above all, enormously to the interests of the British Empire and the people of Great Britain to implant in Palestine a population which will be bound to them by every conceivable human tie. In the first place, a tie of gratitude for a liberation which will stand out in history among the great acts of chivalry and charity to a weaker and defenceless people in a time of need. Secondly, by the fact that to Palestine, situated as it is on the coast of Arabia and surrounded by a large population of desert Arabs and containing a considerable Arab population of its own, adherence to the Imperial complex would be a primary necessity of self-preservation. Thirdly, that of all the human organizations that exist or ever have existed, the British Empire alone is sufficiently liberal, sufficiently elastic, sufficiently broad and generous to comprise within itself a Jewish National Home.

THY NEIGHBOUR

I look forward to the day when Palestine and Transjordan, as a single political entity, will form a self-governing unit within the broad ambit of the British Empire, occupying a position of no inconsiderable importance in the general scheme of that Empire, strategically, commercially, and intellectually, defended by a population of several million loyal Jews, bound in common citizenship with the Empire by every attribute of human affection and self-interest. That the Arab would benefit enormously by this development I think I have already made clear.

There is the opportunity of creating in Palestine a cultural and an intellectual centre which would extend its influence throughout Arabia, to develop the whole of those mighty territories released to the Arabs in the last war. But the presence in Palestine and Transjordan of three million Jews would remove for ever the possibility of a successful armed rising to destroy the effects of the Mandatory policy. To make this solution truly effective, the eventual formal adherence by Palestine to the constitution of the British Empire is a necessity, and it must be realized that such formal adherence can be expected only if it is led by the Jewish population of Palestine. The Arab masses, dominated as they now are by a small clique of

ZIONISM AND THE EMPIRE

self-seeking Effendis, would never promote such a scheme. The problem, therefore, of the rate of emigration into Palestine becomes one of importance, both for the British Empire and the Jewish people.

The exigencies of both cases demand a rapid development of the country, and a considerable rate of immigration. Jewish immigration into Palestine has risen from 42,000 in 1933 to 66,000 in 1935. There is no doubt that with the active encouragement of the Governments of Palestine and Great Britain, this rate of immigration can be maintained and increased.

The present policy, however, of these Governments is to take a much shorter view of the situation. While being in no way hostile to Zionist aspirations, on the contrary being pledged over and over again by successive Secretaries of State for the Colonies to the policy of the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate, they take the view that a slower and more regular development is likely to be economically more healthy, lead to fewer administrative difficulties and to cause the minimum of trouble with the Arab population.

For my part, I consider these views unsound. To provide the perpetual economic equilibrium is a problem which the great nations of the world have

THY NEIGHBOUR

failed to solve; there is no likelihood that a solution will be discovered by the Government of Palestine. What the eventual condition of economic equilibrium will prove to be it is extremely dangerous to prophesy.

Anyone who, in 1911, had said that where the small group of settlers moved their huts to the sand dunes outside Jaffa there would be within twenty-five years a city with a population of 150,000, would have been looked upon as a raving lunatic. If anyone had informed Sir Herbert Samuel when he first assumed the office of High Commissioner in Jerusalem in 1920 that in sixteen years his successor would be sitting on a surplus of seven million pounds, so far from having commended the foresight and imagination of the speaker, he would probably have had him deported from the country as mentally deficient. Since 1920 the economic progress of Palestine has been truly phenomenal. Once more it has returned to its former position of the focal point of the Near East. Its population has increased, the general standard of living has been raised, the government finances have been placed on a sound basis, and a flourishing export trade has grown up.

The country is still primarily agricultural. Of the present population of 1,315,000, only 425,000

reside in the towns. Of the Jewish inhabitants some 25 per cent are tillers of the soil, and their efforts have brought the greatest benefit to the country as a whole. As has been pointed out, the system of cultivation adopted by the Arabs is of a very primitive standard, but under the influence of Jewish methods the general level is gradually improving. The Egyptian Government constantly sends its experts to Palestine to study the progress made by Jewish farmers and introduce their methods into Egypt. In the past ten years the Jewish public bodies have spent much care and money on agricultural improvement schemes. Large areas have been drained, barren hillsides have been planted with forests, roads have been built, and settlements provided with the necessary seed and equipment. An Institute of Agricultural Research has been set up, and agricultural training schools have been founded for both young men and women. Individual colonies, working on a previously agreed plan, have carried out valuable experiments, testing the best soils for growing particular crops; the best systems for exterminating insect pests, and so on. Great strides have been made in the sphere of poultry and dairy farming. Prize breeds of milch cows have been introduced from Holland and crossed with the native strains;

THEY NEIGHBOUR

chickens noted for their high egg-laying yield have been acclimatized, and livestock as a whole placed on a profitable basis.

The result of this patient labour and research is expressed in the greater returns that occur in the Jewish settlement. Whereas the Arab peasant cultivator only obtains on the average 50 kilos. of wheat per dunam (nine bushels per acre), in the Jewish colonies from 125-135 kilos. is the rule. The improved strain of cow yields 3700 quarts of milk per year, as compared with 800 quarts of the native cow. Important progress has been made in fruit culture, especially citriculture, whose products form the chief item of export. New fruits have been introduced such as bananas, avocado pears and grape-fruit, whilst the native varieties have been crossed with those of foreign types. The yield of oranges is now 280 boxes per acre as compared with 200 boxes in California. But there has not yet been time to make Palestine agriculturally self-supporting. Large quantities of grain, fruit, and vegetables are still imported.

It has been remarked with justice that the history of Palestine is written in water. With a climate that verges on the sub-tropical, and with a sparse rainfall of not more than 25 inches, mainly in winter, irrigation is essential if agricul-

ZIONISM AND THE EMPIRE

ture is adequately to be carried on, and the population to be supported on a reasonable standard of life. The total area of Palestine is 10,100 square miles or 26,000,000 dunams. Sir John Hope Simpson estimated in 1930 that of this area some 12,000,000 dunams are cultivable within the ordinary means of the native agriculturist. Jewish experts now believe, in the light of later knowledge, that with scientific development this area could be increased to over 14,000,000 dunams.

Largely since the commencement of the Jewish immigration under the Mandate, some 3000 wells have been sunk, served by modern pumps with electric or diesel motors. Their average yield is 50 cubic metres per hour. Borings have shown that water exists in large quantities where its presence had never been expected. A famous irrigation expert sees no reason why the number of these power-driven wells should not at once increase to 4000 without diminishing the yield. On this basis he calculates that at least 8,000,000,000 cubic metres of water can be supplied by these annually. This being the case, there is no reason at all why the cultivable area of the country should not be increased to 14,000,000 dunams. At present the area under cultivation is only 5,500,000 dunams. Even if the lower figure of 12,000,000 dunams

THY NEIGHBOUR

be accepted, this would give sufficient land to accommodate 480,000 farmers and their families, involving the settlement of some 2,400,000 people, over double the present population of the country.

Even this in my judgment is a considerable under-estimation. There is a great deal of land in the hills and in the arid south which is capable of development, after the land now described as cultivable has been utilized. Those who have seen the terraces of Madeira and of Southern Italy and Switzerland, will realize what can be done to make hilly country yield a crop. The whole of Palestine is covered with the broken remains of the terraces, which in ancient times were the forerunners of this type of cultivation in other parts of the world. Recent archæological discoveries in the South have made it plain that without doubt large areas of this territory were supplied with water and irrigated; with the assistance of modern methods there is no question but that the ancient conditions could be restored. If, therefore, Palestine has a potential capacity for another 2,500,000 to 3,000,000 people, and if Transjordan be included, there is no reason to suppose that there is not room eventually for another 5,000,000 or 6,000,000 inhabitants in these territories; apart altogether from the industrial opportunities that are bound to arise

ZIONISM AND THE EMPIRE

from so large a population. The possibilities, therefore, of transferring 3,000,000 Jews from Europe to Palestine is by no means an idle dream, but a practical proposition which can be perfectly well carried out if proper conditions can be created. No one indeed can predict the full extent of development in, say, the next fifty years, dependent as it must be on the progress of science and its application both to agriculture and industry; but the pace of development of the last twenty years gives every hope of a brighter prospect for the future.

The picture that is presented is, therefore, one of a predominantly agricultural economy with light industry. Though the majority of these industries are not yet operating on a scale sufficient to supply all the needs of the home market, yet in some branches a large proportion of the output is exported.

Palestine enjoys one economic advantage which is almost unique in the development of a new country. It has had in the last few years a plentiful supply of domestic capital brought into the country by the smaller type of capitalist, who, preferring the freedom of Palestine to the conditions of Europe, is content to invest without exaggerated expectations of profit. It gives the country a far

THY NEIGHBOUR

greater element of stability than is common either in colonies or new countries, and so independent an observer as the Midland Bank analysed the position succinctly and adequately in its Review of December 1935.

Other parts of the world have been developed principally by the pioneering labour of persons of little or no wealth, equipped with capital provided by a totally different body of people. The result has been that year by year the developing country has had to provide, out of its own surplus or by fresh borrowing, a growing amount of funds abroad for interests on its external debts. In many countries the machinery has broken under the strain, and the sums invested have proved in the long run to have been largely lost, or at any rate, devoid of net yield. In Palestine, by contrast, the settlers have brought with them the great bulk of the funds required for development, so that a relatively small obligation remains to remit abroad for interest. Thus, while many millions of capital have been introduced into Palestine from other countries, her external debt probably does not exceed a few millions. Hence "payment difficulties" are far less likely to rise under the more usual system of development.

In addition to this, some £10,000,000 has been invested by the two Jewish National Funds, without any intention of a direct commercial return.

ZIONISM AND THE EMPIRE

One of the principal difficulties facing industry in Palestine is the lack of tariff autonomy. By Article 18 of the League of Nations' Mandate, under which the country is governed, the principle of the 'open door' is guaranteed to all member States of the League, and no discrimination may be imposed against any one of them. This was a very good principle in the free trade period of the nineteenth century, but is totally unsuitable to the existing conditions. In this time of quotas, clearing agreements, export subsidies, and dumping, Palestine has no means at its command to protect itself against any of these attacks. The struggling home industries have to go through a very hard time. It is most unfair that when it is proposed to found a new industry, the foreign competitors should flood the market with goods at artificially low prices, so that home production is impossible; and when the project has been abandoned, for foreign goods to revert to their former high price, secure in their command of the market. This has often happened, and the country is powerless to impose an anti-dumping duty in self-protection. Fierce competition is experienced in products coming from Germany and Japan. Even though these countries are not members of the League, action cannot be taken since Great Britain has

THY NEIGHBOUR

concluded treaties guaranteeing them equal treatment with other countries. Yet at the same time as the imposed policy of the open door deprives her of any means of protecting her markets, because she cannot grant reciprocity, Palestine is debarred from the benefits of Imperial Preference.

This state of affairs is most inequitable and is bitterly resented in Palestine. Imports from Germany, Roumania, Poland, etc., have to be paid for in full, whereas when those countries purchase from Palestine, the sums owing are placed in blocked accounts or goods have to be taken in lieu of money, and it is a long time if at all before the exporter collects on his debt. Of the total exports of Palestine about 55 per cent go to Britain, including the greater part of the citrus crop, but Britain only supplies 18 per cent of the imports. Germany takes 5 per cent of exports and supplies 12 per cent of imports. Palestine is not satisfied with this state of affairs, and would like to divert the bulk of her trade to those countries that treat her squarely—principally Britain. It is impossible, however, under the existing system to grant Britain any tariff preferences, though it would be in the interest of both countries to do so.

Throughout the course of recent years Palestine

ZIONISM AND THE EMPIRE

has been a shining light and example to the rest of the world. Whereas other countries have gone through a prolonged period of industrial depression, with its accompaniments of widespread unemployment and disordered public finances, Palestine has enjoyed continuous prosperity, has had no unemployment problem (quite the reverse, there has been a shortage of labour), and the Government has a surplus which equals the expenditure of two years. Nevertheless, though there is every hope that the present period of prosperity will continue, there is no justification for treating this assumption as axiomatic—neither is there any justification for neglecting to provide for the means of minimizing the effects of a setback in trade should it occur. If there has been an outstanding lesson that might be learned from the world depression, it is that the rapid movements of economic disequilibrium require to be offset by equally rapid movements in the balance of trade, and hence balance of payments. Quotas, tariffs, clearing agreements and barter schemes have been set up in order that a country's indebtedness should not become of unmanageable proportions. Undoubtedly some of these schemes have been ill-advised, but, on the other hand, some have been a conspicuous success. Palestine, as the law now

stands, is precluded from resorting to any of these devices, even in times of bad trade. There will always be a permanent element of instability in Palestine's economic structure as long as she does not possess the right to tariff autonomy.

At the present time Government officials, both at home and in Palestine, are inclined to view the development of that country as something abnormal and impermanent. This attitude is one of the principal obstacles to the more rapid development of the country, which, according to officially declared Government policy, is determined by the so-called "economic absorptive capacity" of the country at any given moment.

Within recent years Palestine has suffered from an acute shortage of labour, with resulting abnormally high labour costs. In spite of this, fear of a recession has continually inhibited the Government from granting a sufficient number of certificates for immigration really to satisfy the existing demand. If an advanced and constructive policy, such as that outlined in this chapter, which is obviously so much in the interest of both the British Empire and the Jewish people, is to be adopted, this attitude of mind must undergo radical alteration, and in the place of hesitancy and doubt must come active co-operation and active preparation of

ZIONISM AND THE EMPIRE

conditions for the receipt of further immigrants. A policy, not of restriction and repression, but of leadership and advancement. Zionism, so far, has had to struggle against official doubt and inaction. In spite of this it has achieved a miraculous progress. What might be accomplished with active official assistance, and with a Government continually planning to make more land available, and to fructify more opportunities, it is impossible to forecast. The budgetary history of Palestine begins with a deficit of £120,000, to-day raised to a surplus of £7,000,000. The budgetary history of Transjordan maintains a constant dead level of deficits, and to this day costs the British taxpayer £60,000 a year. It is only necessary to open Transjordan to Jewish enterprise and colonization to change that deficit in the course of a very few years into a large surplus. Land is available, and land to spare, to put the whole of the population of both countries upon a comfortable, if not exaggerated, standard of living.

It is often held against the Jews that they are opposed to employment of Arab labour by Jewish planters. In practice large numbers of Arabs are employed in the Jewish plantations. In the nature of things the Zionist policy could not be enthusiastic about Arab employment on Jewish enter-

THY NEIGHBOUR

prises while it is anxious to bring every tormented creature in Europe to Palestine to whatever job is open to him, and while it is still afraid that with the lower Arab standard of living, were Jewish employment of Arabs to become general, Arab labour would force out Jewish. By this means the ideal of a people rooted in the soil and working on the soil would be destroyed, and in its place there might arise a division of both race and class, which would be indeed disastrous, both for the country and the ideals on which Zionism is founded. If the Jewish inhabitants were to become the employing and the middle classes, and the Arabs the working classes, there would be every opportunity for political agitation upon both economic and racial grounds. It is, therefore, in the real interests of the country as a whole, and both of Arabs and Jews, that a psychology should be created in favour of employing Jewish labour in spite of the higher wages that the Jews command. The difficulty of carrying out this policy in practice is but one aspect of the many and unusual problems which confront the Jewish Agency. At the same time, it is a fact that up to the commencement of the present disturbances, there were more Arabs employed by Jews than in 1920. Since April 1935, however, large numbers have gone out on strike, sometimes under

ZIONISM AND THE EMPIRE

terrorist pressure, and these have now been replaced by Jewish workers. But as soon as the territory of Transjordan is added to Palestine all these problems disappear, the pressure for land would cease, and so would the continual restriction of immigration. Jews could employ Arabs without fear of ousting their fellow-Jews from agricultural occupations, or depriving the nation of its rightful place as tillers of its own soil.

The task of reconquering and developing the soil of Transjordan to-day, barren and deserted, would be one in which both the existing population and hundreds of thousands of newcomers could be usefully engaged.

After a ten-year period it is therefore possible to envisage the evacuation of German Jewry, and the material diminution of the overcrowded Jewries of Eastern Europe. After a period of fifteen years, one might say that a total solution of this problem presents itself on the basis of an emigration of 100,000 a year, rising to 200,000. One can see a new country created on the shores of the Mediterranean, and a new people growing up in their ancient land under the healthy sunshine and blue skies of the Mediterranean climate. Absorbed in the life-giving occupation of building up their own land, leading an active and healthy outdoor

THY NEIGHBOUR

existence, so different from that of the Ghettos they now inhabit, the redemption of Israel is revealed, not as a dream, but as a triumphant reality.

A people free from terror, free from persecution, free from the hatred of their fellow-men, with a mighty legacy of one of the longest continuous civilizations known to mankind, and bringing together the intellectual characteristics of the civilized world. Scattered as they have been among the nations of the earth, they return from many lands, bringing with them knowledge and culture of the great varieties of civilization in which they have dwelt. It is no exaggeration to say that, in this respect, they bring into one little country the sum of the tradition and knowledge of the civilized world implanted upon their own intellectual traditions. The prospect opens out, by which no intelligent mind can fail to be impressed. The problem of the re-settlement of the children of Israel in the land of Israel is not one that can be solved by rule of thumb, nor by the pedantic application of abstract principles. Vision and understanding are needed in a superlative degree, with knowledge of the past and confidence in the future. As these lines are being written, Palestine is filled with turmoil and unrest. Jews are again being slain because they are Jews, once more they are called on to make the

ZIONISM AND THE EMPIRE

supreme sacrifice "for the sanctification of the Name". If courage is needed to see the way out of the present darkness, instinct and experience both combine to show that the present disturbances are as devoid of real cause as they are incapable of arresting the true development of the country.

There are ages of prophecy to be fulfilled by new human glories. The release of fresh intellectual forces may find solutions where the wearied powers of Europe have failed. There is a new message to come out of the new land. There is a great act of liberation and of charity to be performed which will leave its mark upon history for many centuries to come. There is a great occasion for the true display of the chivalry, of the sagacity of the British Empire, and a great opportunity for the People of the Bible to contribute to its latest task in its latest liberation.

General Smuts, one of the noblest statesmen who has ever inspired the British Empire, described the Balfour Declaration as "one of the greatest vows in history". Of the Jews he has said, "A small people inhabiting a small homeland had made a contribution to the cause of humanity such as has no other nation, so in the future they might 'evolve there a system . . . of benefit to man-

kind'." ¹ We have a contribution to bring to the British Empire which cannot be despised: a loyalty for liberation, an adherence enforced by every necessity of existence, the proven power to create a new country, to bring into being a New Dominion.

It is now some years since the Rt. Hon. Col. Josiah Wedgwood, M.P., wrote his book, *The Seventh Dominion*, on this subject. His predictions have, for the greater part, been more than justified. It may seem a wild dream to raise a barren Turkish province to a Dominion of the British Empire, but that is our ambition—that is our goal. A sister Dominion conceived in the grim horror and grand idealism of the War, a country re-born in the heroism of its scattered people and the misery of their oppression. Our contribution will be not only to the economy of the Empire but to the soul of Empire. Only the souls are rich of those who have suffered. Those peoples alone know a true maturity who have seen the abyss. What the Seventh Dominion can contribute to the Empire the future will show—but he would be a rash man who would prophesy too little.

The Mediterranean may once more become a vital theatre of world power: the refortification of

¹ *General Smuts*, vol. ii, by Sarah Gertrude Millin.

ZIONISM AND THE EMPIRE

the Dardanelles, the conquest of Abyssinia, the New Treaty with Egypt, all show the great changes that are taking place. If the Empire could rally an army of 500,000 Europeans at this vital point, whose very existence and that of their homes and families depended upon the preservation of the Empire, what a different outlook, what a change in the balance of power!

This is in the true and greatest traditions of the British Empire, the maintenance of a group of nations, inspired by the same ideals of liberty and decency, informed with the same spirit of honour.

The economic questions of Empire are secondary to the ideals of Empire; they are the body which is necessary to contain the spirit. But to hold—to maintain—to develop—and to ensure peace and order over a quarter of the earth's surface, this is the mighty destiny of the British Empire, and her great practical contribution to humanity.

It was Disraeli, the Jewish Prime Minister of England, who brought the Empire into being and laid the Imperial Crown at the foot of the throne of England; it was Joseph Chamberlain, his great imperial successor, who was the first British statesman to accept the policy of Zionism. Every great

THY NEIGHBOUR

statesman since, led by that noble spirit, Balfour; Asquith, Lloyd George, Baldwin, MacDonald, Churchill, has affirmed the Balfour Declaration, every party in the State has accepted it.

The people of Christ have become the Christ of peoples. Despised and rejected of men, refined in the furnace of affliction, they have nowhere to lay their heads. God fulfils Himself in many ways. Out of the carnage and suffering of the War it was given to a Nation to redress one of the greatest wrongs and repair one of the oldest injustices in the history of mankind. The door of Palestine is once again held open to the Eternal People. They stand on the threshold of their ancient heritage.

POSTSCRIPT

The Arab Revolt of 1936 and After

Hide me from the secret counsel of the wicked;
From the insurrection of the workers of iniquity.

Psalm lxiv. 2

THE Psalmist when he cried aloud, exclaiming on the bitterness of his lot, was faced by just such a situation as the Jews to-day, harassed in Europe, attacked in Palestine.

It was stated by the Colonial Secretary in 1922, speaking on behalf of the British Government, that the Jews come to Palestine as of right, and not on sufferance. They come to a home which was reserved for them with the approval of all the Nations in the League, who, in entrusting the Mandate to Britain, caused the Balfour Declaration to be inserted at the head of the provisions according to which the Mandate was to be administered.

The Zionists' task has not been easy, nor has their success been achieved except in the face of great difficulties. Four times have the Arabs tried to destroy them, uprooting their trees, burning their hard-won crops and plantations, murdering

their aged and their women and children. In the face of this the Zionists in the past have been officially forbidden to be armed.

The revolt of the desert against civilization is not new. It has taken place throughout the world wherever the conflict has occurred. But imagine the settlers of North America facing the Red Indians without arms, or the Vortrekkers of the Transvaal settling down among the hostile natives without their guns. Yet this is what Zionists have had to do. True there is a police force and a garrison. But it has been seen in the past that these can seldom be brought to the spot in time to prevent disaster. On the present occasion the garrison has been increased from two to ten battalions of infantry, two regiments of cavalry, and other units.

Sir Arthur Wauchope has recognized the difficulties of the Jewish settler better than his predecessors. He has enrolled nearly 3000 Jewish special constables who are armed, and has issued certain arms to other settlers. But this was only done after a prolonged delay.

What may have been intended to be a national rising has proved to be nothing of the sort. There is a form of general strike in the mixed towns, but Jewish shops are open and Arab shopkeepers sell by the back-door. The chief feature of the dis-

POSTSCRIPT

turbances is night sniping at Jewish settlements, burning crops, uprooting trees, throwing bombs into crowds, and, above all, sniping convoys. This brigandage is carried out by marauding gangs, who descend from the hills and force the local villages to give them subventions of food and money.¹ This movement is being led neither by a dispossessed Palestinian fellah, nor by a disappointed Palestine effendi, but by Fawzi Kawakji, an ex-Turkish officer of Syrio-Turkish extraction, and of Syrian citizenship. He has collected round him Druses, Syrians, Iraqis, and brigands who, in the words of *The Times* correspondent, flock to any place where there is a chance for excitement and perhaps booty. He has issued a proclamation defying not only the Government of Palestine but also British Imperialism in general, and calling to the Palestinians to rally to the standard of the South Syrian rebellion.

The Government have recently decided to add to the already heavily reinforced garrison by sending the First Division to Palestine to put down this revolt.

¹ "Several instances have been reported during the last few days of villages being held to ransom by bands of armed Arabs. In some cases the villagers resisted, and a fight followed between them and the insurgents."—*The Times*, September 22, 1936.

THY NEIGHBOUR

The immediate cause of the trouble is stated to be the 'desperation' of the Arabs at that they cannot get their case heard. Yet they have chosen violence and deliberately refused the invitation of the British Government to send a deputation to London (at the expense of the British Government) in order to put their case before the Secretary of State. It cannot be too strongly emphasized that if concessions were to be made to this method of discussion the gravest dis-service would be done to Palestine as a country. It would be simply teaching the young men, of all creeds and races, that violence is the thing that pays, and if you want to get your own way and persuade the Government of the justice of your cause, go out sniping at night with a rifle or start throwing bombs.

Another excuse that is made is that the Legislative Council, which it was proposed to promulgate, has fallen through as a result of Parliamentary opposition. The Legislative Council was opposed by the Jewish Agency on the grounds that they could not accept an Arab majority which avowedly intended to hamper their progress; that the country was not yet ready for it, and that it was an unworkable scheme. The matter was debated in both Houses of the British Parliament.

POSTSCRIPT

This was not a Jewish-Arab question, but a question of the Mother of Parliaments discussing with the Government of the day proposals for setting up a Parliamentary constitution within the Empire. It is surely a subject which Parliament has every right to discuss, and surely the Government can be relied upon to state its case and support its views.

As it happened, not a single member of either House could be found to support the Government scheme, apart from the Secretary of State for the Colonies in the House of Commons, the Under Secretary in the House of Lords, and Mr. Crossley in the House of Commons, who made an anti-Semitic speech which was decidedly embarrassing for the Government. Mr. Thomas and Lord Plymouth put their case with eloquence and skill, but it almost seemed as if they did not really believe in it. Apart from this, every speaker was against them, including two ex-secretaries of State for the Colonies and many men distinguished in Imperial and Parliamentary affairs. Why the Jews should be made to suffer for this is a mystery. Surely the British Parliament above all other institutions in the world has a right to discuss questions of this sort. To say that the Arab case was not properly represented is beside the point.

There was no Arab case—it was the Government's case. One of the Government's main arguments was that the Legislative Council would not injure the National Home, and that the Arabs could be relied upon to work the Legislative Council in the spirit of the Mandate. At no time did they suggest that the Council was a sop to the Arab and an injury to the Jews. They firmly maintained in all their declarations that this was not the case. It is, however, now quite clear that the Arabs only wanted the Legislative Council to hamper and harass the National Home and for no other reason.

Since the outbreak of the disturbances, the Government has repeatedly declared that it will make no concession to violence, but that when order is restored it will send a Royal Commission to investigate the grievances of both Jew and Arab, but it will not be within their terms of reference to suggest any changes in the Mandate. This must of necessity be the case, since the Mandate derives from the League of Nations.

But, apart from these political questions, the Jews have been accused of expropriating the Arab peasant and rendering him landless—a Government Commission has shown this to be unfounded. They have been accused of smothering the native population by force of numbers—yet the Arabs

POSTSCRIPT

are twice as numerous as they, and their population is now increasing very rapidly. They have been accused of having lowered the standard of life of the Arab and of forcing him to become their wage slave—this at the same time as it is complained that Jews, by not employing natives, are creating a proletariat divorced from the soil.

Let no mistake be made. The Arabs, or at least the Arab leaders will be satisfied with nothing less than the complete repudiation of the Balfour Declaration and the tearing up of the Mandate in so far as the Jewish clauses are concerned.¹ Propagandists commonly allege that the Arab peoples were duped by the British Government, that a promise was made that at the end of the War an Arab State should be set up which should include Palestine within its boundaries. This is a fiction that dies hard. We have already seen in Chapter IV that Colonel Lawrence (Lawrence of Arabia) was a convinced supporter of Zionism and held that the Jewish National Home would "raise the

¹ The following statement of Arab aims appeared in the *Daily Telegraph* of September 24, 1936: "The Royal Commission may recommend a smaller Jewish immigration quota or improvements in the existing land legislation. But we are determined to end the British Government's Zionist policy. We intend to make Britain's position in Palestine untenable by a protracted political strike and continued guerrilla war against the British forces."

THY NEIGHBOUR

whole moral and material status of its Middle East neighbours". At no time was Palestine west of the Jordan promised to the Arabs to be an Arab State.

It was definitely stated in the British Government White Paper of 1922, that the promise in respect of Palestine was given "subject to a reservation in the same letter, which excluded from its scope, among other territories, the portions of Syria lying to the west of the district of Damascus. This reservation has always been regarded by His Majesty's Government as covering the vilayet of Beirut and the independent Sanjak of Jerusalem. The whole of Palestine west of the Jordan was excluded from Henry McMahon's pledge."

Quite apart from pledges made by the British Government and its Allies, there can be no evasion of the plain terms of the agreement entered into on January 3, 1919, between the Emir Feisal, on behalf of the Arab kingdom of the Hejaz and Dr. Weizmann, on behalf of the Zionist organization. That agreement bound the parties thereto to submit to a definite delimitation of the boundaries between the Arab State and Palestine, and, moreover, provided that "all necessary measures shall be taken to encourage and stimulate immigration of Jews into Palestine on a large scale, and as

POSTSCRIPT

quickly as possible to settle Jewish immigrants upon the land." Previously, on February 6, 1919, Feisal had presented a statement before the Peace Conference in Paris pressing for the independence of all the Arabic-speaking peoples in Asia which contained the following reservation regarding Palestine :

On account of its universal character, I shall leave Palestine on one side for the mutual consideration of all parties interested. With this exception, I ask for the independence of the Arabic areas enumerated in the memorandum.

The claim of the Palestine Arabs, as distinct from those of Emir Feisal in Transjordan, to have rendered important military aid to Britain during the campaign in Palestine, can soon be dismissed. Whereas 1,200 Jews were recruited in Palestine when only half the country had been occupied by British troops and a Jewish battalion took the field, it was found that when a recruiting office was opened in Jerusalem, only 150 Arabs enlisted out of a population which was ten times as great as the Jewish population, depleted as it had been by the forcible transfer by the Turks of the younger Jews to the north. A pungent passage is contained in the book *Land of Three Faiths*, written in 1923 by

Mr. Philip Graves, who certainly cannot be accused of any anti-Arab bias:

Most annoying to anyone who has served with the British and Sherifian Arab Forces in the Palestine campaign, and knows something of the history of the campaign, are the pretensions of the Arabs of Palestine to have rendered important military services to the Allies in the Great War.

Many of the Transjordanians and the Hedjas's, whom, for all their talk of Arab union, the Palestine Arabs dislike and fear as rude and hardy men, played their part right well under the inspiring leadership of Emir Feisal and Colonel T. E. Lawrence; but the Palestinians confined themselves to deserting in large numbers to the British, who fed and clothed and paid for the maintenance of many thousands of such prisoners of war, few indeed of whom could be induced to obtain their liberty by serving in the Sherifian Army.

As the result of Lord Allenby's brilliant campaign, Arabia was freed from the Turkish yoke. The Arab population acquired total freedom and independence over practically the whole of Arabia proper—Saudi Arabia, Iraq (including Mesopotamia), and Syria, which, though under a Mandate, is reserved for the Arabs. These enormous territories present the greatest possibilities for development, but save in the tiny corner which is

POSTSCRIPT

Palestine nothing has been done from Damascus to Baghdad, or from Baghdad to Mecca.

No one of good faith can dispute the benefits that Jewish immigration has brought with it. From a sparsely populated, plague-swept land, the most conspicuous example of Turkish inefficiency and misrule, the country is well on its way to becoming the economic and cultural centre of the Near East. It has shown an example to the rest of the world of what devotion and science, hand in hand, can accomplish. When every other state was in the grip of an industrial depression, Palestine alone was enjoying a period of prosperity.

It is not only the Jews who have reaped the benefits of these new developments. The Arabs also have participated in the gains resulting from the rebirth of the nation. Like Jeshurun they have waxed fat and they are now in the process of kicking. The Arab landowners have been enriched from the considerable sums that they received from the sale of their land at inflated prices to the Jews, for it must be emphasized that the Jews have received no grants of land from the Government; every acre they now possess has been purchased in the open market. The Arab shopkeeper and trader has benefited from the increase in commerce subsequent to 1920, while the Arab

THY NEIGHBOUR

peasant and small cultivator has profited from the example of the Jewish agriculturist.

The Arab people as a whole have gained from the rapid extension of Government social services, and this at very small expense since the Jews furnish the bulk of the customs and tax revenues of the country. Government has built new roads for the Arab towns and villages, has provided them with new schools and has established hospitals and social services. The health of the native has been improved out of measure, and the two endemic scourges by which he has been afflicted—malaria, and that terrible eye disease, trachoma, are losing their virulence. The enormous improvement in the general standard of health is expressed by the drop in the natural death-rate, which in 1927 was still 31.4 per 1000, but by 1935 had fallen to 22.3 per 1000. The infantile mortality rate during the same period has fallen from 213 to 146 per 1000. In Transjordan, however, which has been unaffected by Jewish immigration, infantile mortality still remains at 242 per 1000.

A striking demonstration of the manner in which the Arabs basically regard Jewish immigration and enterprise is to be found in the large increase in the Arab populations of those towns and settlements which have been particularly

POSTSCRIPT

developed by the Jews. Thus the Arab population of the port of Haifa, which has made such progress under Jewish guidance, has since 1922 increased in the ratio of 117 per cent, the corresponding increase for Jaffa, where Jewish development has not been so great, being 70 per cent. In the orange-growing areas round the Jewish district of Tel-Aviv the Arab increase has been 98 per cent and more. But in the purely Arab districts the growth has been very much smaller. In the case of Nablus the increase has been but 12 per cent, in Jenin 28 per cent, whilst in Gaza there has been no increase at all.

One is entitled to ask why this Arab increase should have occurred in specifically Jewish areas, if, as is alleged, the Arabs gained no advantage therefrom and were only impoverished by Zionist activity.

In the Arab villages that lie in proximity to Jewish settlements, the peasant has been ready and capable of absorbing the lessons that may be learned from improved agricultural methods, and has grasped the importance of providing social amenities. Normally the Arab peasant lives in the meanest of hovels, made of mud and straw, without windows, ventilation, or sanitation. His livestock, consisting of a lean cow, an emaciated

donkey, and perhaps a few half-starved chickens, find shelter under the same roof. To take a walk through such a village entails encountering as much filth and squalor, wading through a barrage of as many distinct and progressively offensive smells as would be met with in the most backward village of the Punjab. Yet in those villages that adjoin Jewish settlements the houses are neat and well constructed of brick and stone, sanitary arrangements are provided, and the animals are lodged in separate buildings. The improvements introduced by the Jews in tilling and draining the soil have been copied with a distinct advantage. The Jew is fulfilling his task of interpreting the West to the East. Modern ploughs are brought into use, modern sowers and reapers are gradually making progress among these Arabs, and the old inefficient systems are yielding place to the new. Great strides have been made by Arabs in fruit culture, and half the present area under citrus fruit is owned by Arabs. Since the end of the War, the Arab acreage under citrus fruit has increased from 5000 to 32,000, and they have played their part in the active export trade that has been built up.

As a result of Jewish example and precept, the Arabs are becoming endowed with a social con-

POSTSCRIPT

science, and democratic ideals are gradually pervading the community. The Jewish Labour Federation has encouraged the Arabs to form their own Trade Unions and co-operatives whilst the Postal Workers' Union contains members of both sections. It can readily be imagined that the Effendi class, that of the capitalists and feudal landlords, look askance at this movement for social emancipation of the fellahin, and it is fear for their own privileged position which plays no small part in their endeavours to drive the Jews out of the country.

All this talk about the Arab being ground down by the Jew, and having in consequence to eke out a meagre existence, is so much moonshine. The standard of life of the Palestinian Arab is now the highest among the native population of the Near East. This is a reversal of the pre-War condition when Palestine was the most backward State of all. No restriction is placed on the immigration of Arabs from Syria and Transjordan, and their large influx is at once proof of the greater attractiveness of life in Palestine as well as a refutation of the claim that Arabs are being forced out of the country. It is estimated that since 1922 no less than 200,000 Arabs have immigrated into Palestine! They would not have done so had conditions

been as difficult as opponents of the Jews allege. We shall revert to this figure again in our argument. It is not easy to obtain exact statistics that will show by how much the standard of life has increased since 1922, but it is probable that the daily wage of the Arab worker has risen by 200 per cent. The wage now in Palestine is some three shillings per day, whereas in Iraq and Egypt it is tenpence and one shilling respectively.

The Arab agitators demand complete cessation of Jewish immigration to prevent the Arabs being driven out of their country. It is a pity that those who are so eager to make this accusation do not first peruse the statistics that are available on the subject. At the outset, it should be remembered that, as a result of their treatment during the War, the Jewish population of Palestine had been reduced by half, only numbering some 50,000 as compared with their former strength of nearly 100,000. Account should be taken of the pre-War figure, in all calculations dealing with the population rate of increase. Since 1919, the increase in the Jewish population has been in the neighbourhood of 300,000, and the increase of the Arabs has been approximately the same. In absolute figures, therefore, the Arabs still outnumber the Jews by as much as they ever did, and whereas in 1914 the

POSTSCRIPT

Jews formed about one-fifth of the total population, to-day the proportion is under one-third. According to the latest official estimates the present population of 1,200,000 is composed of Moslems, 759,000; Jews, 320,000; Christians, 103,000, and some 66,000 nomadic Bedouins. Reduced to these proportions, the whole agitation seems a trifle exaggerated.

The total area of Palestine is some 10,000 square miles, equivalent to 6,500,000 acres or 26,000,000 dunams. Sir John Hope Simpson calculated that some 12,000,000 dunams are cultivatable, and this is now regarded as a conservative estimate. Out of this cultivatable area the Jews own about 1,250,000 dunams. How, then, can it therefore be said that the Jews have swallowed up the bulk of the fertile land of the country? The Jewish land purchases from 1930 till the present have, according to official figures, only increased by 230,000 dunams—an average of less than 40,000 dunams a year. After 1930 a special Government department was set up in order to investigate the extent to which Arabs were being dispossessed of their land, and to take steps to find alternative accommodation for them. The subsequent result is best expressed in the words of the Government report for 1934:

THY NEIGHBOUR

Up to 31st December 1934, the Development Officer received 3236 applicants for admission to the register of landless Arabs. So far 656 heads of families have been admitted to the register, 2578 claims were disallowed, two claims outstanding.

Later on the report says :

All registered Arabs who have signified their willingness to take up holdings upon Government estates have been accommodated.

This should dispose of the myth that there is any great shortage of land among the Arabs as the result of Zionist purchases, more especially since there were only 35 further applications to the Government Officer in 1935. Paradoxical as it may seem, the purchases of land by Zionists, so far from creating a shortage among Arabs, have the reverse effect. The Zionist authorities do not usually purchase the whole estate of a peasant, but leave him in possession of a section. With the money that he has received for the sale of part of his land (the Jews having to pay many times its former value) the Arab is enabled to change from the old inefficient methods of extensive farming, and by the sinking of wells and the installation of modern appliances, he obtains a greater yield from his smaller but intensively cultivated section than he did from his original holding.

POSTSCRIPT

This point is brought out by the Report made for the Government by C. F. Strickland, who stated :

His trouble—is his debt—the amount of debt is not only burdensome and such as to hamper any attempt at progressive agriculture, but no small percentage of cultivators are entirely insolvent, and neither co-operative credit nor any form of state loans can place them on a solvent footing, if the whole nominal claim of their creditors is to be repaid.

There is in general much to be said for encouraging the fellah to sell a part of his irrigable land . . . and to repay the reasonable claims of his creditors from the sale proceeds, and develop the remainder of his irrigable land with any surplus remaining.

Mr. Delbes, Director of the Agricultural Experimental Station, wrote in the *Bulletin de l'Union Economique de Syrie* (Paris, 1928):

The existing system of land possession is one of the most important obstacles in the way of agricultural progress. The large landlords are little, if at all, interested in the agricultural development of their estates . . . the fellahin, who work the land, live under conditions comparable with that of the bondmen of the Charlemagne dynasty. No more than 20 per cent of the gross product of the land remains to the fellah. . . . It may almost be said that the big landlords are engaged not in the ex-

THY NEIGHBOUR

plotation of the land, but in the exploitation of its cultivators . . . as under the existing system of taxation, no charges are paid on uncultivated land, the big landlords can leave large areas untilled without incurring any losses.

It is a curious inversion of usual conditions of the agriculturist the world over in recent years, who has by the depression been forced to sell his land at any price, that in Palestine, on the contrary, the Jew has been forced to buy at any price much to the advantage of the Arab.

The fellah is obtaining three main advantages from Zionist development. Firstly, he is, as a rule, crippled with debt, which he is able to pay off by selling part of his land at a price no other Arab would dream of paying. Secondly, he is obtaining by example a new education in agricultural science, and the capital to put this training into practice. Finally, the general urban development of the country is providing him with a market for his produce.

The extent to which this process can be developed is shown in the following figures. The density of the population of Palestine is as low as 46.7 per sq. Km. In other mainly agricultural countries across the Mediterranean it is in Roumania, 63.7; in Hungary, 95; in France, 76; and

POSTSCRIPT

in Italy 136, while in the Lebanon right down to Palestine it is 92. This compares with 7.5 in Trans-jordan!

So much has been heard of Arab grievances that people are liable to forget that the Jews consider that they themselves have legitimate grounds for complaint. They claim that the provisions of the Mandate have been whittled down to their disadvantage, and that whenever there has been a doubt the narrower view has been taken. Particularly is this noticeable in the case of labour schedules and land sales. There is a crying need for more labourers in Palestine; the whole development of the country is held up because the men cannot be found to carry out essential work. In allocating the schedules granting permission for the entry of new immigrants, the Government claims to be guided by the economic absorptive capacity of the country, and this not at the moment, but in the future. We have already made the point that no economist and no Government administration has been able to devise a system of business forecasting with anything like a reasonable standard of accuracy, and we do not expect the Government of Palestine, able as it may be, to succeed where everyone else has failed. Actually, in so far as the labour schedules hitherto

granted purported to reflect a forecast of future economic development, they have been hopeless underestimates, and the standard of accuracy does not seem to improve.

Mention has already been made of the Government and Zionist health services, but the same situation occurs in the Educational services. Here the Government Budget is some £200,000 a year, of which £28,600 goes to the Jews. The Zionists themselves, however, spend £222,000 a year on education, excluding the Government grant, but as the Jews pay about half the taxes they have to provide for half the Arab education as well as their own. This double form of taxing can hardly be said to "facilitate immigration" or to be a necessary part of "safeguarding the civil and religious rights of the existing inhabitants".

A certain amount of exception is taken to the British officials in the Palestine administration. The resident Jews claim that in their efforts to hold the balance even, the British officials are apt to favour the Arab point of view, often, no doubt, subconsciously, but sometimes deliberately. The truth is that the most suitable type of Colonial Officer has not always been sent to Palestine. Incorruptible as he always is, and no doubt competent within the limits of his routine, yet he

POSTSCRIPT

generally is not gifted with an excess of vision and imagination. The present type of Civil Servant out there has gained most of his experience with native races over whom he has wielded a paternal, but almost godlike, authority, *à la* Sanders of the River. When, however, he comes to Palestine, he finds himself in contact with Jews who, in culture and intellect, are in no way his inferiors. Undoubtedly the Civil Servant is somewhat at a loss, and prefers to deal with the Arabs who more nearly approximate that which he has been used to. This state of affairs is not in the interests of the country as a whole. The result hitherto has been to discourage initiative and to put a damper on progress, and the Jewish section of the population feel that they are not always receiving the consideration to which they are entitled. The conditions now prevailing in Palestine have no parallel in any other part of the Empire. The routine of the Colonial Administration in other territories is not suitable here. Quite a new tradition and system must be adopted. Just as a special Civil Service is recruited to deal with the extraordinary complex problems of India, a Service whose reputation of loyalty and achievement is unsurpassed, so should a special Civil Service be recruited for Palestine, whose problems are not less complicated. If this were

done there is no reason why the glory and prowess of the Indian Civil Service should not be emulated by its Palestinian counterpart.

The present state of affairs is indeed tragic and all the more deplorable when it is considered who were the original promoters of the trouble. The affair first started as a strike in the larger towns; its direction was assumed by a strike committee consisting of the most prominent and wealthy members of the Arab community. Under the auspices of this committee agitators were sent out into country districts and villages to stir up the rural Arab. The Arab peasant is a simple and credulous person, and it is no difficult task to convince him that the Jews in the towns are undermining the position of the Arab people as a whole and that they will soon threaten his own livelihood. The village Arab is told that his brethren in the towns are being ground down and squeezed out, and the town Arab is told that Zionists are consolidating their grip on the rural areas, buying up the land and evicting the peasants, and that soon the Zionists will turn their attention to the urban districts. The population is the more receptive to these stories, having been prepared by long years of more or less constant agitation, punctuated by three uprisings, when the diatribes of the agitators

POSTSCRIPT

were approved by the big feudal landlords and endorsed by the authorities in the mosques. Indeed, the mosque, after the religious service has been held, becomes the meeting-place for discussion, intrigue and agitation. Left to himself the Arab peasant and worker has no animosity against the Jews; often he readily admits the benefits that Jewish immigration has brought with it. The implacable enemies are the big landowners and capitalists. With the spread of the ideals of democracy and collective bargaining they see their power over the lower classes weakening, and with the advent of the Jewish man of affairs they see the end of a period of unchallenged monopoly.

At its inception the Arab Strike Committee was well supplied with funds, and the supply showed no signs of diminishing for a very long time. A certain proportion of this money was supplied by the wealthy Effendis and by forced levies among the Arab business community. But there is strong evidence that shows that a constant source of financial and moral assistance has been provided through the agents of certain European Powers who are not averse from embarrassing Britain whenever possible. It cannot be too strongly emphasized that the present troubles have been

stirred up largely with the aid of foreign money¹ by those who feel that now is the right time to twist the British Lion's tail to make him drop the Mandate altogether. Such tactics must fail, and those who foment trouble in Palestine are doing a grave disservice not only to the Jews, but also to the Arab people themselves.

The Jews do not wish the land that was allotted them as a National Home to become a perpetual battle-ground. They do not wish for continual dissension and strife. They definitely do wish to live in peace and goodwill with the Arab community. From the very inception of the Mandate the Jews have given repeated tangible proof of their desire to meet the Arabs on a basis of equality, to discuss common difficulties and problems and to work out a solution that shall be satisfactory to both parties. It is a matter for regret that these advances have not been received with the readiness that their sincerity deserved. It is not easy to continue to be friendly disposed towards a people who meet advances with hostility, who conduct constant agitation against the newcomer, burn down his crops and threaten his life. Never-

¹ "There are fresh supplies of money larger than can be expected from the now impoverished Arabs, even under threats, and it seems likely that some foreign source has really been tapped."—*The Times*, September 24, 1936.

POSTSCRIPT

theless, the Palestinian Jews bear little rancour; they recognize that the peasant Arabs have been made the tool of sectional and partisan interests. In the face of the present provocation the forbearance of the Jewish community cannot be praised too highly; their loss of life has been heavy, the material damage that they have suffered has been great. Yet they have not added to the bitterness of the situation by adopting the tactics of either open or secret reprisals, which is the usual outlet for the feelings of vigorous and exasperated men smarting under a deep sense of wrong. The Jewish population is desperately anxious to be formed into a defence force to protect themselves. At the commencement of the trouble the Jewish Agency pressed for the right for Jews to be enlisted as special constables in their own defence. Eventually this permission was granted and some hundreds have been enlisted. But in the anxious interval Jewish watchmen night after night had to keep their vigil armed only with shotguns against the attacks of marauding bands of Arabs armed with rifles. Over and over again these little bands of inadequately armed youngsters have had to hold off Arab attacks until the British troops and police could be summoned to their aid. The work done by Jewish drivers in assisting British

THY NEIGHBOUR

troops has been formally recognized by British officers and the courage and devotion of the Jewish police has been commended by the head of the Palestine police force. And here it would be ungracious not to pay a tribute to the Arab members of the Palestine police, the bulk of whom have remained loyal to their duty under most difficult circumstances. There is nothing that the Jews throughout the world regret more than that non-Jews should be hurt in protecting them. It would have been far more congenial to them to have mobilized in their own defence than to remain still and see British troops brought in to suppress the terrorists. Be this as it may, Jewry everywhere cannot but have the deepest sense of gratitude for those who have suffered injuries, and have laid down their lives to maintain law and order in the country under British rule. The Jews have suffered much, yet they are unwilling to add to the bitterness of an already painful situation, and their hope in the ultimate reconciliation of the two races remains unchecked.

There was a time when Europe was plunged in the Dark Ages, and when the torch of culture and knowledge was kept alight only by the harmonious co-operation of Jew and Arab. Why should not this erstwhile trust and friendship be restored?

POSTSCRIPT

The two peoples together could do great things for the world. Why shall not Israel and Ishmael live once more in amity, in the field as in the town; when Jerusalem shall once more become the "city of peace", and "be full of boys and girls playing in the streets thereof"? (Zechariah viii. 5).

But visions of the future are of no avail unless the present is fully understood. In the final analysis, despite figures, facts and expressions of goodwill, the main point still remains. It is this—the Arab extremists, who are the most active and most vocal members of their community, are against the Zionist clauses of the Mandate root and branch. They are against the whole conception of the National Home, and from time to time they have inspired and organized risings and agitations based upon the single notion of forcing the Government of Britain and the League of Nations to reverse their policy.

It does by no means follow that if the policy of the National Home did not exist, or if it were abandoned, the Arabs would quietly acquiesce in British rule in Palestine. On the contrary, there is every reason to expect, from the example of the neighbouring Syria, that strife and agitation would be just as violent and as prolonged, but would be directed against the British Administration and

THY NEIGHBOUR

the British forces. What the Arab people object to is civilized immigration of any kind, of whatever race or creed. The experience of all Colonial Powers on the shores of the Mediterranean has been similar in this respect. In Morocco, Algeria, and Tunis, the Moors have created disturbances against newcomers; Italy has had her difficulties in Tripoli, whilst Asia Minor has long been a breeding-place of discontent.

When all is said and done, and all the arguments have been advanced, what does the question boil down to upon final analysis? The Arabs are afraid that in time they will be subject to a political majority of the Jews. There is nothing in the Mandate to prevent this. It was clearly visualized by those who supported the Balfour Declaration. But the Jews, who have suffered so much as minorities themselves, have no desire to oppress another people as a minority in their National Home. We have never been asked either by the Government of Palestine or of Great Britain to discuss a final settlement of the constitution of the country. But we have claimed political parity as a right—let us give it as a right to the Arabs. Let us agree that in any form of constitution both sides are to be equal, irrespective of the actual numerical strength of either population at any

POSTSCRIPT

given time. That surely must be within the terms of the Mandate. But there must be one proviso; that the Arabs will formally and publicly accept the National Home and our rights in Palestine. Unless this is done all arrangements—parity, minority, majority—are useless.

Secondly, it is a bad thing for the country as a whole for the Arab fellah to leave the land and to go into the town and there spend or lose the money that he has been paid for the land. Alternatively, for him to be turned off by absentee landlords with the same result. It is no satisfaction to the Jew who buys land to know that his good money will be squandered, and that instead of it being used to improve and develop the country and to raise the standard of the Arab, an Arab family has gone to swell an undesirable class of 'urban fellahin'. Not that, in practice, this appears to occur to any extent. All investigations and reports seem to show that the fellah is more cautious and more intelligent than is commonly credited. But there is a danger—let a scheme be devised to meet it. Not a scheme subtly intended to make it impossible for Jews to buy land and increase their holding in their National Home, but a genuine scheme to meet a genuine danger. Let it be agreed that land shall be found for every dis-

placed Arab; that money, Jewish money, be spent in developing it.

But since there can be no objection to Arabs settling in Transjordan, and since the density of population there is 7.5 per sq. Km. and 46.7 in Palestine, and since Transjordan costs the British taxpayer £60,000 a year or more, let it be agreed that we be free to acquire land for the settlement of Arabs in Transjordan and to spend money on wells and pumps and pipes to develop it. Also that the Government of Palestine from its large surpluses should devote £100,000 a year in developing Transjordan and in settling Arab colonies from Palestine. There is no compulsion in this idea—there never has been any compulsion about the purchase of land in Palestine by Jews from Arabs. The Arabs sell freely and willingly when they want, or refuse to sell at all if they do not. Large areas sometimes present special difficulties because of the highly complex system of village land tenure still in existence. In these cases Arab notables lend their services as intermediaries in view of the large numbers of individuals affected who have joint rights. Perhaps lend is a euphemism; they receive substantial fees for their services, and one of the most violent Nationalist agitators recently took a fee of £1,000 for assisting in this

POSTSCRIPT

way a company in which I happen to be interested. I have since read with much interest and amusement his terrific declamations against the acquisition of land by Jews.

But there is one further point that must not be overlooked. The recent rising makes it plain that the Jews cannot depend upon having peaceable neighbours; that though the vast majority of the Arabs are peaceable and reasonable enough, and though in many cases Jew and Arab work well enough together, as they have done in Haifa Harbour, right through these disturbances, yet there are unruly elements that can easily be roused to violence. It is true that these can be put down by reinforcing the garrison, but at what a cost! It takes time to bring troops from Egypt. They might be otherwise engaged there, and the cost has to be met by the Government of Palestine. When the present disturbances broke out, the Government of Palestine had a surplus of £7,000,000. How much will be left when the trouble is over? The importation of troops is never a satisfactory solution. A Jewish Defence Force should be organized by the Government, trained, uniformed and armed by them, and officered by British officers. This force should be, say, five thousand strong, of which one thousand could be

THY NEIGHBOUR

always on service and the remainder trained reservists. There is an analogy in the already existing Transjordan Defence Force, which is recruited exclusively from among the Arab population. This Force would be a guarantee against further attack. It is the Jews who are attacked: it is their right to defend themselves. The importation of troops means that English soldiers are killed and wounded defending us. This places us in an intolerably dishonourable position, is likely to prejudice our case in England, and is in every way unfair to the Jewish population of the National Home. There are already some 3000 Jews enrolled for the purpose of the present disturbances, and they could form the nucleus of the Jewish Defence Force.

There can be no question as to whether the Jews are sufficiently reliable to be entrusted with this duty. Their discipline and restraint in the days of the present trouble has shown in the most remarkable way how a population gathered from all over the world in a few years can behave when inspired by a great ideal. It must not be supposed that if Arabs are capable of manufacturing bombs (most of which, fortunately, do not go off), Jews are not equally capable of more effective retaliation. That they have refrained from so

POSTSCRIPT

doing and that they have, in military parlance, stood firm under fire is perhaps the greatest tribute to them as a people since the commencement of the Zionist endeavour.

There is a further point that has been made very clear by the present troubles. At present the city of Tel-Aviv, which is admittedly the first commercial city in the country, with a population of 150,000 souls, is dependent for its outlet to the sea upon the port of Jaffa, which has a normal population of some 40,000, of whom 30,000 are Arabs. Since April the Government has been unable to open this port, and the city of Tel-Aviv has been permitted to improvise landing facilities upon the foreshore. This condition of affairs must never be allowed to arise again. In the first place, a proper harbour is long since overdue. Technically there are no insuperable difficulties, and even under the present primitive conditions 2,400,000 tons are handled at the port. Haifa, which handles 4,900,000 tons, is notoriously overcrowded, and a proper harbour at Tel-Aviv would adjust the situation. Such a harbour could and should include Jaffa, but there must be proper and direct access to Tel-Aviv city. It is impossible to make a maritime commercial city of this importance dependent upon the gangsterdom of the Arab stevedores.

THY NEIGHBOUR

There is no difficulty in getting the work done or finding the money; all that is required is the permission of the Government.

This brings me to my final point. The present disturbances are bound to have had an adverse effect upon the economic position of the country. No one knows how much of the surplus will remain when order is finally restored, but, fortunately, the country has shown itself to have a very marked recuperative capacity. None the less, the financial policy of the Government in the next months must wield a considerable influence over commercial conditions. If the Government, relying on the future, go straight ahead with such schemes as the Tel-Aviv-Jaffa harbour and the many others which the country needs, all will be well. But if they pursue a niggardly and restrictive financial policy they may well precipitate a depression. There is no need for a restrictive policy—the credit of the country is excellent—and of all the many troubles which Palestine has, finance is not one of them.

So, as I see, there are four main points for the future. The acceptance of the principle of political parity, coupled with the acceptance of the National Home. The reservation, preservation, and development of land for the Arabs, both in

POSTSCRIPT

Palestine and Transjordan. These two points should really meet all that the Arabs claim, apart from literally abandoning the National Home. Coupled with these, the establishment of a Jewish Defence Force, which is indeed fully justified, and the commencement of work on a new harbour with a general policy of advance and development, both in Palestine and Transjordan. The artificial barrier that creates poverty in Transjordan and prosperity in Palestine cannot persist. The Government of Palestine should take in hand the development of Transjordan from its own budget surpluses or from the proceeds of loans. To improve the lot of the Transjordan Arab, to provide him with water and settle him on a smaller area, and, at the same time, to settle Palestinian Arabs in the country in similar circumstances, free of debt and of the landlord, surely this is the right and constructive policy, where there is money to pay for it. The Jewish money which will purchase the land in Palestine and which will pay the taxes that make up the Palestine budget is readily forthcoming.

The Jews do not want their National Home to be the scene of riot and bloodshed and constant trouble. They want the opportunity of quiet and peaceful development. They do not want to sub-

THY NEIGHBOUR

ject or oppress any other race in achieving their own freedom. As I see it, we bring advantages and opportunities to the existing inhabitants of Palestine and Transjordan which they could not have expected for generations. Our crime is that we have succeeded. Where our opponents prophesied failure we have achieved triumph. Above all, the most fatal act would be to restrict Jewish immigration. It is not a luxury for us; it is a necessity. The Mandate demands that it should be 'facilitated', not restricted. The term 'facilitate' has been defined as within "the economic absorptive capacity of the country". Now that we have created a capacity that really can absorb our distressed brethren, now that we need that capacity beyond anything that was dreamed of when the definition was made, surely it would be unjust, it would be a gross betrayal to bang the door of the National Home in our faces.

The world has ultimately to face up to this problem and to deal with it. Where are the persecuted Jews of Europe to go and what is to be done to salve the festering sore of anti-Semitism? Where are the Jewish refugees from Germany and other countries to find an alternative to suicide? This is the position and this is the problem. The ancient people cry out anew for the justice that

POSTSCRIPT

was promised them after the War. I do not believe that they will cry out in vain. If there is hardship for the Palestinian Arabs in the development of Zionism—it is difficult to show that any hardship has existed, or is likely to exist—it cannot be discussed on the same plane as the tragedy of Jewry. The two cases are not comparable. The contributions of the two people to mankind are poles apart. Their standards of life and of civilization are separated by centuries.

The future of the Arabs should be to develop the vast territories of Arabia. The present opportunity, helped by the cultural basis of the National Home, is likely to be the most favourable that will ever befall them.

So far as we are concerned every statesman and every thinker who has studied the question has arrived at the same conclusion—Jewry has no other hope. It is confronted by the imminent necessity of slum clearance which stretches from Berlin to Warsaw, from Bucharest to Vienna. It can only be solved by allowing them to build up their ancient land. The policy of the Jewish National Home is not a mushroom growth; it is founded on decades of thought and effort. It has been endorsed by the nations and statesmen of the world for a period of over twenty years. Surely this great ideal is not to

be destroyed by a handful of Arab agitators. Zionism stands among the greatest spiritual movements the world has seen. In the course of these pages I have traced its history and recounted its tragedy.

It may seem that my story is so gloomy and so hopeless that there is nothing to be done. It may be said that I have recounted every disaster that has befallen Jewry since the days of Pharaoh as though it were a direct and malign act of anti-semitism. It may appear that with such a history over such a period, no effort is worth while. Surely these are negative views of a great question. Because an injustice has lasted long, is that an argument for its continuance? Would slavery have been abolished by such reasoning? The restoration of Israel to his historic land has been on each occasion of immense significance to Mankind and to the cause of Civilization. His sufferings and his misery have marked him off from others; in exile he has been despised, in his own land he has been great. Once again the time has come, in our generation, to put forth our strength to achieve our own redemption. Faced with the present situation there is no doubt in my mind what is the right course to pursue, what is the just cause to fight for. We must go back to Eretz Israel; it is our Destiny, it is

POSTSCRIPT

our own acknowledged Right. What contributions we shall make to the world, whether we shall again be dispersed in the centuries to come, and yet again return, I know not. I only know that now there is work to be done, an ideal to serve and to cherish, a suffering People to save, and a Land to Redeem.

As one whom his mother comforteth, so will I comfort you; and ye shall be comforted in Jerusalem.—ISAIAH lxvi, 13.

APPENDIX

LEAGUE OF NATIONS

Mandate for Palestine

APPROVED BY THE COUNCIL OF THE LEAGUE OF
NATIONS ON SEPTEMBER 16TH, 1922.

The Council of the League of Nations:

WHEREAS the Principal Allied Powers have agreed, for the purpose of giving effect to the provisions of Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, to entrust to a Mandatory selected by the said Powers the administration of the territory of Palestine, which formerly belonged to the Turkish Empire, within such boundaries as may be fixed by them; and

Whereas the Principal Allied Powers have also agreed that the Mandatory should be responsible for putting into effect the declaration originally made on November 2nd, 1917, by the Government of His Britannic Majesty, and adopted by the said Powers, in favour of the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, it being clearly understood that nothing should be done which might prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country; and

Whereas recognition has thereby been given to the historical connection of the Jewish people with Pales-

THY NEIGHBOUR

tine and to the grounds for reconstituting their national home in that country; and

Whereas the Principal Allied Powers have selected His Britannic Majesty as the Mandatory for Palestine; and

Whereas the mandate in respect of Palestine has been formulated in the following terms and submitted to the Council of the League for approval; and

Whereas His Britannic Majesty has accepted the mandate in respect of Palestine and undertaken to exercise it on behalf of the League of Nations in conformity with the following provisions; and

Whereas by the afore-mentioned Article 22 (paragraph 8) it is provided that the degree of authority, control or administration to be exercised by the Mandatory, not having been previously agreed upon by the Members of the League, shall be explicitly defined by the Council of the League of Nations;

Confirming the said mandate, defines its terms as follows:

Article 1.

The Mandatory shall have full powers of legislation and of administration, save as they may be limited by the terms of this mandate.

Article 2.

The Mandatory shall be responsible for placing the country under such political, administrative and economic conditions as will secure the establishment of the Jewish national home, as laid down in the

APPENDIX

preamble, and the development of self-governing institutions, and also for safeguarding the civil and religious rights of all the inhabitants of Palestine, irrespective of race and religion.

Article 3.

The Mandatory shall, so far as circumstances permit, encourage local autonomy.

Article 4.

An appropriate Jewish agency shall be recognised as a public body for the purpose of advising and co-operating with the Administration of Palestine in such economic, social and other matters as may affect the establishment of the Jewish national home and the interests of the Jewish population in Palestine, and, subject always to the control of the Administration, to assist and take part in the development of the country.

The Zionist organisation, so long as its organisation and constitution are in the opinion of the Mandatory appropriate, shall be recognised as such agency. It shall take steps in consultation with His Britannic Majesty's Government to secure the co-operation of all Jews who are willing to assist in the establishment of the Jewish national home.

Article 5.

The Mandatory shall be responsible for seeing that no Palestine territory shall be ceded or leased to, or in

THY NEIGHBOUR

any way placed under the control of, the Government of any foreign Power.

Article 6.

The Administration of Palestine, while ensuring that the rights and position of other sections of the population are not prejudiced, shall facilitate Jewish immigration under suitable conditions and shall encourage, in co-operation with the Jewish agency referred to in Article 4, close settlement by Jews on the land, including State lands and waste lands not required for public purposes.

Article 7.

The Administration of Palestine shall be responsible for enacting a nationality law. There shall be included in this law provisions framed so as to facilitate the acquisition of Palestinian citizenship by Jews who take up their permanent residence in Palestine.

Article 8.

The privileges and immunities of foreigners, including the benefits of consular jurisdiction and protection as formerly enjoyed by capitulation or usage in the Ottoman Empire, shall not be applicable in Palestine.

Unless the Powers whose nationals enjoyed the afore-mentioned privileges and immunities on August 1st, 1914, shall have previously renounced the right to their re-establishment, or shall have agreed to their non-application for a specified period, these privileges

APPENDIX

and immunities shall, at the expiration of the mandate, be immediately re-established in their entirety or with such modifications as may have been agreed upon between the Powers concerned.

Article 9.

The Mandatory shall be responsible for seeing that the judicial system established in Palestine shall assure to foreigners, as well as to natives, a complete guarantee of their rights.

Respect for the personal status of the various people and communities and for their religious interests shall be fully guaranteed. In particular, the control and administration of Wakfs shall be exercised in accordance with religious law and the dispositions of the founders.

Article 10.

Pending the making of special extradition agreements relating to Palestine, the extradition treaties in force between the Mandatory and other foreign Powers shall apply to Palestine.

Article 11.

The Administration of Palestine shall take all necessary measures to safeguard the interests of the community in connection with the development of the country, and, subject to any international obligations accepted by the Mandatory, shall have full power to provide for public ownership or control of any of the natural resources of the country or of the

THY NEIGHBOUR

public works, services and utilities established or to be established therein. It shall introduce a land system appropriate to the needs of the country, having regard, among other things, to the desirability of promoting the close settlement and intensive cultivation of the land.

The Administration may arrange with the Jewish agency mentioned in Article 4 to construct or operate, upon fair and equitable terms, any public works, services and utilities, and to develop any of the natural resources of the country, in so far as these matters are not directly undertaken by the Administration. Any such arrangements shall provide that no profits distributed by such agency, directly or indirectly, shall exceed a reasonable rate of interest on the capital, and any further profits shall be utilised by it for the country in a manner approved by the Administration.

Article 12.

The Mandatory shall be entrusted with the control of the foreign relations of Palestine and the right to issue exequaturs to consuls appointed by foreign Powers. He shall also be entitled to afford diplomatic and consular protection to citizens of Palestine when outside its territorial limits.

Article 13.

All responsibility in connection with the Holy Places and religious buildings or sites in Palestine, including that of preserving existing rights and of securing free access to the Holy Places, religious build-

APPENDIX

ings and sites and the free exercise of worship, while ensuring the requirements of public order and decorum, is assumed by the Mandatory, who shall be responsible solely to the League of Nations in all matters connected herewith, provided that nothing in this article shall prevent the Mandatory from entering into such arrangements as he may deem reasonable with the Administration for the purpose of carrying the provisions of this article into effect; and provided also that nothing in this mandate shall be construed as conferring upon the Mandatory authority to interfere with the fabric or the management of purely Moslem sacred shrines, the immunities of which are guaranteed.

Article 14.

A Special Commission shall be appointed by the Mandatory to study, define and determine the rights and claims in connection with the Holy Places and the rights and claims relating to the different religious communities in Palestine. The method of nomination, the composition and the functions of this Commission shall be submitted to the Council of the League for its approval, and the Commission shall not be appointed or enter upon its functions without the approval of the Council.

Article 15.

The Mandatory shall see that complete freedom of conscience and the free exercise of all forms of wor-

THY NEIGHBOUR

ship, subject only to the maintenance of public order and morals, are ensured to all. No discrimination of any kind shall be made between the inhabitants of Palestine on the ground of race, religion or language. No person shall be excluded from Palestine on the sole ground of his religious belief.

The right of each community to maintain its own schools for the education of its own members in its own language, while conforming to such educational requirements of a general nature as the Administration may impose, shall not be denied or impaired.

Article 16.

The Mandatory shall be responsible for exercising such supervision over religious or eleemosynary bodies of all faiths in Palestine as may be required for the maintenance of public order and good government. Subject to such supervision, no measures shall be taken in Palestine to obstruct or interfere with the enterprise of such bodies or to discriminate against any representative or member of them on the ground of his religion or nationality.

Article 17.

The Administration of Palestine may organise on a voluntary basis the forces necessary for the preservation of peace and order, and also for the defence of the country, subject, however, to the supervision of the Mandatory, but shall not use them for purposes other than those above specified save with the consent of the Mandatory. Except for such purposes, no mili-

APPENDIX

tary, naval or air forces shall be raised or maintained by the Administration of Palestine.

Nothing in this article shall preclude the Administration of Palestine from contributing to the cost of maintenance of the forces of the Mandatory in Palestine.

The Mandatory shall be entitled at all times to use the roads, railways and ports of Palestine for the movement of armed forces and the carriage of fuel and supplies.

Article 18.

The Mandatory shall see that there is no discrimination in Palestine against the nationals of any State Member of the League of Nations (including companies incorporated under its laws) as compared with those of the Mandatory or of any foreign State in matters concerning taxation, commerce or navigation, the exercise of industries or professions, or in the treatment of merchant vessels or civil aircraft. Similarly, there shall be no discrimination in Palestine against goods originating in or destined for any of the said States, and there shall be freedom of transit under equitable conditions across the mandated area.

Subject as aforesaid and to the other provisions of this mandate, the Administration of Palestine may, on the advice of the Mandatory, impose such taxes and Customs duties as it may consider necessary, and take such steps as it may think best to promote the development of the natural resources of the country and to safeguard the interests of the population. It may also, on the advice of the Mandatory, conclude a

THY NEIGHBOUR

special Customs agreement with any State the territory of which in 1914 was wholly included in Asiatic Turkey or Arabia.

Article 19.

The Mandatory shall adhere on behalf of the Administration of Palestine to any general international conventions already existing, or which may be concluded hereafter with the approval of the League of Nations, respecting the slave traffic, the traffic in arms and ammunition, or the traffic in drugs, or relating to commercial equality, freedom of transit and navigation, aerial navigation and postal, telegraphic and wireless communication or literary, artistic or industrial property.

Article 20.

The Mandatory shall co-operate on behalf of the Administration of Palestine, so far as religious, social and other conditions may permit, in the execution of any common policy adopted by the League of Nations for preventing and combating disease, including diseases of plants and animals.

Article 21.

The Mandatory shall secure the enactment within twelve months from this date, and shall ensure the execution of the Law of Antiquities based on the following rules. This law shall ensure equality of treatment in the matter of excavations and archaeological research to the nationals of all States Members of the League of Nations.

APPENDIX

(1)

“Antiquity” means any construction or any product of human activity earlier than the year 1700 P.D.

(2)

The law for the protection of antiquities shall proceed by encouragement rather than by threat.

Any person who, having discovered an antiquity without being furnished with the authorisation referred to in paragraph 5, reports the same to an official of the competent Department, shall be rewarded according to the value of the discovery.

(3)

No antiquity may be disposed of except to the competent Department, unless this Department renounces the acquisition of any such antiquity.

No antiquity may leave the country without an export licence from the said Department.

(4)

Any person who maliciously or negligently destroys or damages an antiquity shall be liable to a penalty to be fixed.

(5)

No clearing of ground or digging with the object of finding antiquities shall be permitted, under penalty of fine, except to persons authorised by the competent Department.

(6)

Equitable terms shall be fixed for expropriation, temporary or permanent, of lands which might be of historical or archæological interest.

(7)

Authorisation to excavate shall only be granted to persons who show sufficient guarantees of archæological experience. The Administration of Palestine shall not, in granting these authorisations, act in such a way as to exclude scholars of any nation without good grounds.

(8)

The proceeds of excavations may be divided between the excavator and the competent Department in a proportion fixed by that Department. If division seems impossible for scientific reasons, the excavator shall receive a fair indemnity in lieu of a part of the find.

Article 22.

English, Arabic and Hebrew shall be the official languages of Palestine. Any statement or inscription in Arabic on stamps or money in Palestine shall be repeated in Hebrew and any statement or inscription in Hebrew shall be repeated in Arabic.

Article 23.

The Administration of Palestine shall recognise the holy days of the respective communities in Palestine as legal days of rest for the members of such communities.

APPENDIX

Article 24.

The Mandatory shall make the Council of the League of Nations an annual report to the satisfaction of the Council as to the measures taken during the year to carry out the provisions of the mandate. Copies of all laws and regulations promulgated or issued during the year shall be communicated with the report.

Article 25.

In the territories lying between the Jordan and the eastern boundary of Palestine as ultimately determined, the Mandatory shall be entitled, with the consent of the Council of the League of Nations, to postpone or withhold application of such provisions of this mandate as he may consider inapplicable to the existing local conditions, and to make such provision for the administration of the territories as he may consider suitable to those conditions, provided that no action shall be taken which is inconsistent with the provisions of Articles 15, 16 and 18.

Article 26.

The Mandatory agrees that, if any dispute whatever should arise between the Mandatory and another Member of the League of Nations relating to the interpretation or the application of the provisions of the mandate, such dispute, if it cannot be settled by negotiation, shall be submitted to the Permanent Court of International Justice provided for by Article 14 of the Covenant of the League of Nations.

THY NEIGHBOUR

Article 27.

The consent of the Council of the League of Nations is required for any modification of the terms of this mandate.

Article 28.

In the event of the termination of the mandate hereby conferred upon the Mandatory, the Council of the League of Nations shall make such arrangements as may be deemed necessary for safeguarding in perpetuity, under guarantee of the League, the rights secured by Articles 13 and 14, and shall use its influence for securing, under the guarantee of the League, that the Government of Palestine will fully honour the financial obligations legitimately incurred by the Administration of Palestine during the period of the mandate, including the rights of public servants to pensions or gratuities.

The present instrument shall be deposited in original in the archives of the League of Nations and certified copies shall be forwarded by the Secretary-General of the League of Nations to all Members of the League.

Done at London the twenty-fourth day of July, one thousand nine hundred and twenty-two.

INDEX

A

ABD-UL-HAMID II, Sultan of
Turkey, 107, 114
Abimelech, 20
Abraham, 20, 57-8, 60, 66
Abrahams, H. M., 92
Abyssinia, 221
Africa, 72
Agricultural Experimental
Station, 241-2
Ahasuerus, 122
Ain Harod, 145-6
Akabah-Haifa connection,
200
Alexander the Great, 67, 142
Alexander, Professor, O.M., 92
Alexandria, 73, 153, 165
Algeria, 252
Allenby, Field-Marshal Vis-
count, 125, 126, 142, 167,
232
America, U.S., 27, 52-3, 96,
185, 187, 192, 196
Amsterdam, 91
Amswalde, 37
Anglo-Jewish community,
the, 91
Antiochus Epiphanes, 67-8
Apostles, the, 17
Arab invasion, 73
Arab labour, 215-16
Arab rising (1936), 223ff.
Arab Strike Committee, the,
247
Arabia, 201, 231; Central,
138

Arabs, Palestinian, 128, 136,
137, 140, 150, 166, 172,
173, 202
Aramacans, 21
Ark of the Covenant, the, 66
Asia Minor, 66, 193
Askenazi Jews, 91
Asquith and Oxford, Rt.
Hon. Earl of, 222
Assyrians, the, 97, 98, 142
Australia, 165
Austria, 92, 103, 186, 187,
195; Jewry of, 51

B

BABYLON, 59, 72, 97, 142
Baden, Royal House of, 107
Baghdad, 233
Baldwin, Rt. Hon. Stanley,
222
Balfour, Rt. Hon. A. J. (Earl
of Balfour), 109, 114, 118,
121, 123-4, 127, 185, 222
Balfour Declaration, the, 67,
123, 135, 136, 203, 219, 223,
229, 252
Balfour memorial forest, 146
Balkans, the, 52
Barak, 141
Barnardo, Dr., 91
Basle, 109, 111
Basle programme, the, 110
Bavaria, 39
Bearsted, 1st Baron, 92, 196
Beersheba, 126

THY NEIGHBOUR

- Belgium, 186
 Bentinck, Lord George, 98
 Beirut, 165; vilayet of, 230
 Berlin, 119, 261
 Bialystock, 115
 Bible, the, 26, 64, 125
 Black Hundreds, the, 115
 'Blood Libel', the, 85
 Boleslav, King of Poland, 80
 Breslau, 47
 Bristol, 91
 Britain, 20
 British Empire, the, 130, 131,
 132, 137, 198, 202, 219, 221
 British South Africa, 199, 200
 Bucharest, 52, 261
 Bulgaria, 52, 186
*Bulletin de l'Union Écono-
 mique de Syrie*, 241

C

- CAESARS, the, 142
 Cairo, 65
 California, 206
 Canaan, land of, 60
 Cassel, Sir Ernest, 92
 Carmel, Mount, 134
 Chamberlain, Rt. Hon.
 Joseph, 107, 109
 Chamberlain, 109; London,
 109, 114, 221
 China, 27
 Churchill, Rt. Hon. Winston,
 222
 Clemenceau, Georges, 105
 'Cold Exodus', the, 46
 Constantinople, 153
 Cowen, Joseph, 125
 Credit Anstalt, the, 109
 Cromwell, Oliver, 91
 Crossley, A. C., M.P., 227

- Croydon, 199
 Crucifixion, the, 16, 17, 71
 Crusades, the, 77, 103
 Crusaders, the, 97, 98, 142
 Cyrus, 59, 67
 Czechoslovakia, 186
 Czernowitz, 52

D

- DAMASCUS, 230, 233
 Dardanelles, the, 221
 David, King, 64, 66, 142
 Deborah, the prophetess, 141
 Delbes, *cited*, 241-2
 Dispersion, the Great, 72,
 73ff.
 Disraeli, Benjamin, 62, 92,
 98, 100, 130, 181, 221
 Dizengoff, C.B.E., 151&N, 152
 Dominions, the, 131
 Dreyfus, Colonel, 104 ff.
 "Dry Pogrom", the, 46
 Dugdale, Mrs., 118
 Durham, Bishop of, 34

E

- EDER, DR., 125
 Edward I, 90
 Egypt, 59, 60, 62, 65, 66, 97,
 113, 140, 141, 165, 166, 199,
 205, 221, 238
 Ehrlich, 25
 Einstein, A., 25
 "Emek, The", 143ff.
 England, 27, 62, 90, 91, 92,
 111, 160, 181, 186, 196
 English Zionist Federation,
 the, 119
 Essenes, the, 70

INDEX

- Eretz Israel, 56, 57, 133, 134,
135, 153, 179, 262-3
Esdraelon, Plain of, 141
Esther, Queen, 122
Esthonia, 96, 186
Europe, 28, 72, 77, 193, 209;
Central, 54; East and South-
East, 34, 91, 102, 103, 183,
188, 217
Everling, S.S. Leader, 43, 44
Exile, the, 131
Exodus, 63, 65

F

- FAWZI KAWAKJI, 225
Feisal, Emir, 230, 231, 232
France, 27, 92, 103, 104, 138,
139, 186
Franconia, 41
French Revolution, the, 90

G

- GALILEE, 134, 140
"Garden of Palestine", the,
143, 146
Gaza, 235
Genesis, 21, 57
Geneva, 149
Genoa, 152
George V memorial forest,
146
German Jewry, 29 ff., 34, 183,
187
German Refugees, High
Commissioner for, 192
Germans, 97
Germany, 27, 33 ff., 42, 92 ff.,
121, 183, 186, 191, 211, 212,
261; the Bible in, 26; Nazi,
109, 188, 194, 195, 197

- Ghetto, the, 81, 82, 83, 84,
89, 90, 96, 134, 144
Gideon, 142
Gilboa, Mount, 142
Gothic princes, 98
Graves, Philip, 232
Great Britain, 121, 167, 169,
212
Great War, the, 35, 140, 222
Greece, 73, 186
Greek Government, 194
Greeks, 193
Guedalla, Philip, 92
Gunzenhausen, 37

H

- HABER, 25
Habimah theatrical company,
the, 154-5
Hadrian, Emperor, 161
Haifa, 140, 153, 161, 235, 257;
Harbour, 165, 198, 199, 257
Hasmonean Dynasty, the, 68
Hebrew language, 73, 153 ff.
Hebrew University, the, 126,
127, 154
Hebron, 104
Hejaz railway, the, 143
Hejaz, the, 138, 229
Heine, Heinrich, 25
Henry, Captain, 104
Herzl, Dr. Theodor, 105 ff.,
119, 181
Hirst, Lord, 92
Hitler, Adolf, 22, 75, 109,
178, 191
Holland, 91, 103, 186, 205
Holy Land, *see* Palestine
Huguenot refugees, 192
Hungary, 186, 187

THY NEIGHBOUR

I

INDIA, 165, 199, 200
 Inquisition, the, 25, 52, 73,
 91, 98
 Institute of Agricultural Re-
 search, the, 205
 International Clearing Bank,
 an, 196
 Iraq, 166, 231, 238
 Ireland, 138
 Isaac, 20, 21, 61
 Isaacs, Sir Isaac, 92
 Isaiah, 24, 64, 263
 Israel, land of, 66
 Italy, 92, 103; Southern, 208

J

JABIN, King of Canaan, 141
 Jacob, 61
 Jael, 142
 Jaffa, 140, 151, 153, 161, 165,
 204, 235, 257, 258
 Japan, 211
 Jaurès, J. J., 105
 Jenin, 235
 Jerusalem, 72, 75, 78, 102,
 104, 118, 126, 134, 140, 157,
 251; Sanjak of, 230
 Jeshurun, 233
 Jessel, Sir George, 92
 Jesus of Nazareth, 16, 17, 68,
 69, 70, 71, 75
 Jewish Agency, the, 158, 167,
 171, 180, 216, 227, 248
 Jewish Defence Force, 249,
 255-6
 Jewish National Fund, the,
 167, 168, 214
 Jewish National Home, the,
 32, 120, 139, 159, 167, 185,

198, 201, 228, 230, 248,
 251ff
 Jewish special constables, 224
 Jezreel, Valley of, 141, 143,
 146
 Job, 64
 John, King, 90
 Jordan, the, 134, 140, 142, 161
 Joseph, 61, 62
 Joshua, 125, 139
 Judas Maccabeus, 68
 Judges, Book of, 142

K

KASSEL, 40
 Kerensky, A. F., 150
 Kishon, river, 143
 Kvuzoth, the, 146 ff.

L

LABOUR FEDERATION, the,
 157-8, 237
Land of Three Faiths
 (Graves), 232
 Latin, 73
 Latvia, 96, 186, 187
 Lawrence, Colonel T. E., 172,
 229, 232
 League of Nations, the, 127,
 138, 187, 192ff., 211, 229
 Lebanon, cedars of, 141
 Lecky, W. E. H., 73, 94
 Legislative Council, the,
 226ff.
 Lenin, V., 149, 150
 Levi, Professor Sylvain, 125
 Leviticus, 169
 Liberty, Statue of, 53
Life of Balfour (Dugdale),
 118
 Lithuania, 96, 186, 187

INDEX

Lloyd George, Right Hon.
David, 121-2 &*u.*, 222
London, 109, 112, 131, 155;
city of, 83
Ludwig, E., 29

M

MACAULEY, LORD, 23
Maccabees, the, 24, 68
Maccabiah, the, 156
Macdonald, James, 187
MacDonald, Rt. Hon. J. R.,
177, 222
McMahon, Sir Henry, 230
Madeira, 208
Malta, 198
Manchester, 118, 120; Uni-
versity, 118, 119, 121
Manchester Guardian, the,
172
Marks, Simon, 196
Marseilles, 153
Marshall, Louis, 171, 177
Mecca, 233
Mediterranean Sea, 17, 72,
133, 151, 155, 156, 193, 198,
201, 217, 220-1
Melchett, 1st Lord, 92, 171
177
Meldola, 92
Mendoza, the boxer, 92
Merhavia, 145
Mesopotamia, 232
Messiah, pseudo, 86
Midianites, the, 142
Midland Bank, the, 210
Misgaib, 95
Monash, General Sir John,
92
Mond, Ludwig, 92
Montagu, Rt. Hon. Edwin,
92, 123

Moors, the, 73, 252
Morocco, 252
Moses, 58 ff., 122, 139
Mosul pipe-line, the 198
Mühsam, Erich, 44
Mussolini, Benito, 149

N

NABLUS, 235
Nahalal, 145
Namier, Professor, 172
Napoleon I, 90, 92
Near East, the, 200
Neu Wedell, 37
Neue Freie Presse, the, 105
New York, 101
Niederlungwitz, 44
Nile, the, 65
Nobel Prizes, 34
Nuremberg Decrees, the, 36,
47

O

OHEL theatrical company,
the, 154-5
Old Testament, the, 17
Omar, Mosque of, 174, 175
Orange Belt, the, 150
Oranienburg, 43, 44
Orscha, 95, 96
Ormsby-Gore, Major the Rt.
Hon. W. G. A., 125

P

PALESTINE, 20, 61, 66, 67, 77,
103, 108, 116-17, 125, 130ff.,
161-2, 199, 200 ff., 214,
215, 238, 259-60, *et alibi*,
passim. See also Jewish
National Home, and Post-
script

THY NEIGHBOUR

Palestine Electric Corpora-
 tion, the, 163
 Palestine Foundation Fund,
 the, 167-8, 169
 Palestine Mandate, the, 127,
 135, 139, 167, 198, 203, 207,
 229, 243, 251, 252, 260;
 Article 18, 211; text of,
 265-78
 Palestine Police, the, 250
 Paris, 118, 155
 Passfield, Lord, 177
 Passion, the, 21
 Passover Festival, the, 101
 Peace Conference, the, 231
 Persia, 67
 Pharaohs, the, 62, 64, 65, 98,
 122, 142
 Pharisees, the, 70
 Philistines, the, 20, 142
 Pilgrim Fathers, the, 192
 Pinsker, Leo, 106
 Plymouth, Earl of, 227
 Pogroms, 37, 46, 48 ff., 91,
 94-6, 115, 189, 190
 Poland, 48, 56, 80, 96, 170,
 186, 187, 190, 212
 Polish Jewry, 81
 Polish students, 54, 55, 56
 Pope, the, 107
 Postal Workers' Union, the,
 237
 Przytyk, 48
 Prinz, Rabbi, *cited*, 46-7
 Psalms, the, 64, 223
 Ptolemy, the, 67
 Punjab, the, 236

Q

QUAKERS, the, 83

R

RATHENAU, the Rabbi of, 42,
 43-4
 Reading, Marquis of, the late,
 92, 164
 Rebecca, 61
 Red Sea, the, 65
 Reinhardt, 25
 Renan, Ernest, 154
 Rhineland, the, 33
 Rhodesia, 132
 Ricardo, David, 91
 Roman Emperors, 98
 Roman Empire, the, 34, 73,
 74
 Romans, the, 16, 97, 175
 Rome, 24, 68 ff.
 Rothschild, Baron Edmond
 de, 116-7
 Rothschild, House of, 91,
 108, 109
 Rothschild, Baron de, 123,
 125
 Rothschild, Major James de,
 125
 Royal Commission, a, 228
 Roumania, 51, 96, 165, 186,
 187, 189, 195, 212
 Russia, 27, 94, 96, 101, 102,
 115, 149, 185, 186, 188
 Russians, 97
 Rutenberg, P., 164

S

SACHER, H., *cited*, 94-6
 Sadducees, the, 69
 Safed, 104
 St. Jerome, 74, 100
 St. Paul, 17

INDEX

Samuel, 64
 Samuel, Sir Herbert, 92, 123,
 143, 196, 204
 Sanhedrin, the, 90
 Saracens, the, 142
 Sassoon family, the, 92
 Sassoon, Siegfried, 92
 Satan, 78
 Saudi Arabia, 232
 Saul, King, 142
 Schreiner, Olive, 32
 Scopus, Mount, 127
 Seleucid Dynasty, the, 67
 Sephardi Jews, 91
 Serelman, Dr. Hans, 44
Seventh Dominion, The
 (Wedgwood), 220
 Sharon, the, 141, 150
 Sieff, Israel, 125
 Simon, Leon, 125
 Simpson, Sir James Hope,
 207, 239
 Sinai, 60, 112-13
 Sisera, 141, 142
 Smuts, General, 25, 219-20
 Sokolow, Dr., 152
 Solomon, King, 64, 66, 99,
 174
 South Africa, 192
 Spain, 25, 52, 72, 73, 91, 101
 Streicher, Julius, 38, 39, 41
 Strickland, C. T., 242
 Student Corps, Jewish, 54, 55,
 56
Stürmer, the, 38, 39
 Suez Canal, 200
 Sweden, 165
 Switzerland, 149, 208
 Syria, 67, 138, 139, 166, 230,
 232, 237
 Syrians, the, 68, 69

T

TALMUD, the, 65, 86
 Tartars, the, 94
 'Tel Adashim, 145
 Tel-Aviv, 151-2, 153, 157ff.,
 179, 199, 204, 235, 257-8
 Tel-Aviv-Jaffa Harbour, 257-
 258
Telegraph, Daily, 229n.
 Tel Joseph, 146
 Temple, the, 24, 66, 67, 72,
 103, 174
 Ten Commandments, the, 64,
 66
 Thomas, Rt. Hon. J., 227
 Tiberias, 104
Times, The, 42, 225&n,
 248n.
 Titus, Emperor, 74, 140
 Trade Unions, 238
 T.U.C., the, 157
 Transjordan, 138, 139, 194,
 202, 208, 215, 217, 230,
 232, 237, 254, 259-60; Emir
 of, 171
 Transjordan Defence Force,
 the, 256
 Tripoli, 252
 Tunis, 252
 Turkey, 52, 140-1
 Turks, the, 142, 145, 193

U

UGANDA, 113 ff.
 Ur of the Chaldees, 24, 57,
 58, 60

V

VIENNA, 51, 60, 105, 108, 109,
 155, 261

THY NEIGHBOUR

W

WAILING, the Wall of, 174 ff.
 Walter, Bruno, 29
 Warsaw, 154, 260; University,
 54, 55, 56
 Wauchope, Lieut.-General Sir
 Arthur, 177
 Wedgwood, Rt. Hon. Colonel
 Josiah, 220
 Weizmann, Dr. Chaim, 116,
 118 ff., 125, 126, 137, 149,
 150, 230
 Willstätter, 25
Wirtschaft und Statistik, 34

Y

YARMUK river, 161
 Yellow Spot, the, 37; book so
 called, 41
 Yemenite Jews, 153

Z

ZANCWILL, Israel, 92
 Zedekiah, cave of, 175
 Zion, 97, 101
 Zionism, 100 ff., 130 ff.
 Zionist Congresses, 109 ff.
 Zola, Emile, 105



